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WHEREIN POPULAR EDUCATION HAS FAILED.

It cannot be denied that there is serious and general disappointment at the results of popular education up to this date. Elementary instruction for all children and more advanced instruction for some children have been systematically provided in many countries for more than two generations at great cost and with a good deal of enthusiasm, though not always on wise plans. Many of the inventions of the same rich period of seventy years have greatly promoted the diffusion of education by cheapening the means of communicating knowledge. Cheap books, newspapers, and magazines, cheap postage, cheap means of transportation, and free libraries have all contributed to the general cultivation of intelligence, or at least to the wide use of reading matter and the spread of information. In spite, however, of all these efforts to make education universal, all classes complain more than ever before of the general conditions of society.

Now, if general education does not promote general contentment, it does not promote public happiness; for a rational contentment is an essential element in happiness, private or public. To this extent universal education must be admitted to have failed at the end of two generations of sincere and strenuous, if sometimes misdirected, effort. Perhaps it is too soon to expect from public education any visible increase of public contentment and happiness. It may be that general discontent is a necessary antecedent of social improvement and a preliminary manifestation of increased knowledge and wisdom in all

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classes of the community. Yet after two whole generations it seems as if some increase of genuine reasonableness of thought and action in all classes of the population ought to be discernible. Many persons, however, fail to see in the actual conduct of the various classes of society the evidence of increasing rationality. These skeptical observers complain that people in general, taken in masses with proper exclusion of exceptional individuals, are hardly more reasonable in the conduct of life than they were before free schools, popular colleges, and the cheap printing-press existed. They point out that when the vulgar learn to read they want to read trivial or degrading literature, such as the common newspapers and periodicals which are mainly devoted to accidents, crimes, criminal trials, scandals, gossip, sports, prize-fights, and low politics. Is it not the common school and the arts of cheap illustration, they say, that have made obscene books, photographs, and pictures, low novels, and all the literature which incites to vice and crime, profitable, and therefore abundant and dangerous to society? They complain that in spite of every effort to enlighten the whole body of the people, all sorts of quacks and impostors thrive, and that one popular delusion or sophism succeeds another, the best-educated classes contributing their full proportion of the deluded. Thus the astrologer in the Middle Ages was a rare personage and usually a dependent of princes; but now he advertises in the popular newspapers and flourishes as never before. Men and women of all classes, no matter what their education, seek advice on grave matters from clairvoyants, seers, Christian scientists, mind-cure practitioners, bone-setters, Indian doctors, and fortune-tellers. The ship of state barely escapes from one cyclone of popular folly, like the fiat-money delusion or the granger legislation of the seventies, when another blast of ill-informed opinion comes down on it, like the actual legislation which compels the buying and storing of silver by Government, or the projected legislation which would compel Government to buy cotton, wheat, or corn and issue paper money against the stock.

The educated critics of the practical results of public education further complain that lawless violence continues to break out just as it did before common schools were thought of, that lynch law is familiar in the United States, riots common from Berlin to Seattle, and assassination an avowed means of social and industrial regeneration. Even religious persecution, these critics say, is rife. The Jews are ostracized in educated Germany and metropolitan New York, and in Russia are robbed and driven into exile by thousands. Fur-

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thermore, in spite of the constant inculcation of the principles of civil and religious liberty, new tyrannies are constantly arising. The tyrant, to be sure, is no longer an emperor, a king, or a feudal lord, but a contagious public opinion, a majority of voters inclined to despotism, or an oppressive combination of owners, contractors, or workmen. From time to time the walking delegate seems to be a formidable kind of tyrant, all the more formidable because his authority is but brief and his responsibility elusive. Popular elections and political conventions and caucuses provide another set of arguments for the skeptics about the results of universal education. Have these not been carried on with combined shoutings, competitive, prolonged howlings, banners, torches, uniforms, parades, misrepresentations, suppressions of truth, slanders and vituperation, rather than with arguments and appeals to enlightened self-interest, benevolence, patriotism, and the sense of public duty? Are votes less purchasable now than they were before the urban graded school and the State university were known? How irrational is the preparation made by the average voter for the exercise of the function of voting! He reads steadily one intensely partisan newspaper, closes his mind to all information and argument which proceed from political opponents, distrusts independent newspapers and independent men, and is afraid of joint debates. Such are some of the allegations and doubts of the educated critics with regard to the results of popular education.

On the other hand, the least-educated and most laborious classes complain that in spite of universal elementary education, society does not tend toward a greater equality of condition; that the distinctions between rich and poor are not diminished, but intensified; and that elementary education does not necessarily procure for the wage-earner any exemption from incessant and exhausting toil. They recognize indeed that machine labor has in many cases been substituted for hand labor; but they insist that the direction of machines is more exacting than old-fashioned hand work, and that the extreme division of labor in modern industries is apt to make the life of the operative or mechanic monotonous and narrowing. They complain that the rich, though elaborately instructed in school and church, accept no responsibilities with their wealth, but insist on being free to break up their domestic or industrial establishments at their pleasure, or in other words, to give or withhold employment as they find it most convenient or profitable. They allege that the rich man in modern society does not bear, either in peace or in war, the grave responsi-

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bilities which the rich man of former centuries, who was a great landowner, a soldier, and a magistrate, was compelled to bear; and that education, whether simple or elaborate, has not made the modern rich man less selfish and luxurious than his predecessor in earlier centuries who could barely sign his name. They admit that the progress of science has made mankind safer from famine and pestilence than it used to be, but they point out that wars are more destructive than ever, this century being the bloodiest of all the centuries; that European armies are larger and more expensively equipped than ever before, and hence are more burdensome to the laboring populations which support them; while in the American Republic the annual burden of paying the military and naval pensions which result from a single great war is heavier, twenty-seven years after the war ended, than the annual burden of maintaining the largest standing army in Europe. Clearly, the spread of education has not enabled the nations to avoid war or to diminish its cost either in blood or treasure. If universal education cannot abolish, or even abate, in seventy years, the horrible waste and cruelty of war, can anything great be hoped from it for the laboring classes?

They complain also that the education of the employer and the employed has not made the conditions of employment more humane and comfortable; that almost all services and industries—agricultural, domestic, and manufacturing—are organized on the brutal principle of dismissal on the instant or with briefest notice, and that assured employment during good behavior and efficiency, which is almost a prerequisite of happiness for a reasonable and provident person, remains the privilege of an insignificant minority of well-to-do people, like judges, professors, and officers of financial and industrial corporations. How much has all this boasted education increased the intelligence and insight of even the best-educated and most capable people, if they still cannot devise just and satisfying conditions of employment in their own households, shops, ships, and factories? It is much more important that fidelity, constancy, loyalty, and mutual respect and affection between employer and employed should be fostered by the prevailing terms of employment than that more yards of cotton cloth or more tons of steel should be produced, more miles of railroad maintained, or more bushels of wheat raised. Those fine human qualities are the ultimate product to be desired. Have they been developed and fostered during the two generations of popular education? Or have dishonesty in labor, disloyalty, mutual jealousy

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and distrust between employer and employed, and general discontent increased?

These indictments against universal education as a cure for ancient wrongs and evils are certainly formidable; but they exaggerate existing evils and leave out of sight great improvements in social condition which the last two generations have seen. It is only necessary for us to call to mind a few of the beneficent changes which the past seventy years have wrought, to assure ourselves that some powerful influences for good have been at work in the best-educated nations. Consider, for example, the mitigation of human miseries which the reformation of penal codes and of prisons, the institution of reformatories, the building of hospitals, asylums, and infirmaries, and the abolition of piracy and slavery have brought about. Consider the positive influence toward the formation of habits of industry and frugality exerted by such institutions as savings-banks, mutual-benefit societies, and life-insurance corporations. Unanswerable statistics show that during the past seventy years there has been a steady improvement in the condition of the most laborious classes in modern society, the wage-earners, and this improvement touches their earnings, their hours of labor, their lodgings, their food and clothing, and the means of education for their children. Consider how step by step terrors have been disarmed, superstitions abolished, the average duration of human life lengthened, and civil order extended over regions once desolate or dangerous. Think how family and school discipline have been mitigated within two generations, and how all sorts of abuses and cruelties are checked and prevented by the publicity of modern life, a publicity which depends on the universal capacity to read.

Let us remember that almost all business is nowadays conducted on trust, trust that the seller will deliver his goods according to sample and promise, and trust that the buyer will pay at the time appointed. Now, this general trustworthiness is of course based on moral qualities which inhere in the race, but these qualities are effectively reinforced and protected by the publicity which general education has made possible. Consider how freedom of intercourse between man and man, tribe and tribe, nation and nation has been developed even within a single generation; how the United States have spread across the continent, how Italy has been made one nation, and Germany one, and the Austrian Empire confederated from three distinct nationalities. Every one of these great expansions or consolidations has resulted in greater freedom of intercourse and in the re-

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moval of barriers and of causes of strife and ill-will. Moreover, on taking a broad view of the changes in civilized society since 1830, do we not see that there has been great progress toward unity,—not indeed toward uniformity, but toward a genuine unity? The different classes of society and the different nations are still far from realizing the literal truth of the New Testament saying, "We are members one of another," but they have lately made some approach to realizing that truth. Now, unity of spirit with diversity of gifts is the real end to be attained in social organization. It would not be just to contend that popular education has brought to pass all these improvements and ameliorations; but it has undoubtedly contributed to them all. Moreover, we find on every hand evidences of increased intelligence in large masses of people. If war has not ceased, soldiers are certainly more intelligent than they used to be, else they could not use the arms of precision with which armies are now supplied. The same is true of all industry and trade—they require more intelligence than formerly in all the work-people. While, therefore, we must admit that education has not accomplished all that might fairly have been expected of it, we may believe that it has had some share in bringing about many of the ameliorations of the social state in the past two generations.

It is somewhat comforting to recall, as we confess to disappointment with the results of universal education, that modern society has had several disappointments before of a nature similar to that it now experiences. There was a time when it was held that a true and universally accepted religious belief would bring with it an ideal state of society; but this conviction resulted in sanguinary persecutions and desolating wars, for to attain the ideal state of society through one true religion was an end so lofty as to justify punishing and even exterminating all who did not accept the religion. Again, when modern representative institutions were first put into practice it seemed as if the millennium were near—popular government seemed of infinite promise for the happiness of mankind. Were not all despotisms to be done away with? Were not all men to enjoy liberty, equality, and fraternity? It was a painful surprise to discover that under a *régime* of general liberty a few could so use their freedom as to gain undue advantages over the many. It was a disappointment to find that superior shrewdness and alertness could secure, under public freedom and public law, a lordship such as superior force could hardly win when there was little freedom and little law. How high were the expectations based on universal suffrage, that exaltation of

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man as man without regard to his social condition, that strong expression of the equality of all men in political power! Yet all these successive hopes have proved in a measure delusive. On the whole, the most precious and stable result of the civilized world's experience during the past three hundred years is the doctrine of universal toleration, or liberty for all religious opinions under the protection of the state, there being as yet no such thing in Christian society as one true and universal religion. We have all had to learn that representative institutions do not at present necessarily produce good government—in many American cities they coexist with bad government—and that universal suffrage is not a panacea for social ills, but simply the most expedient way to enlist the interest and support of us all in the government of us all. Never yet has society succeeded in embodying in actual institutions a just liberty, a real equality, or a true fraternity.

It was reasonable, however, to expect more from universal education than from any of the other inventions to which I have alluded. Public education should mean the systematic training of all children for the duties of life; and if seems as if this systematic training could work almost a revolution in human society in two or three generations, if wisely and faithfully conducted. Why has it not? It seems to provide directly for a general increase of power to reason and, therefore, of actual reasonableness in the conduct of life. Why is it possible to doubt whether any appreciable gain has thus far been made in these respects? I think I perceive in popular education, as generally conducted until recently, an inadequacy and a misdirection which supply a partial answer to these disquieting questions.

The right method of developing in the mass of the population the reasoning power and general rationality which are needed for the wise conduct of life must closely resemble the method by which the intelligence and reasoning power of an individual are developed. Let me next, therefore, present here in some detail the main processes or operations of the mind which systematic education should develop and improve in an individual in order to increase his general intelligence and train his reasoning power. The first of these processes or operations is observation; that is to say, the alert, intent, and accurate use of all the senses. Whoever wishes to ascertain a present fact must do it through the exercise of this power of observation, whether the fact lie in the animal, vegetable, or mineral kingdom; whether it be a fact of physics, physiology, sociology, or politics. Facts, diligently sought for and firmly established, are the only foundations of

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sound reasoning. The savage has abundant practice in observation; for he gets his daily food only by the keenest exercise of this power. The civilized man, whose food is brought to him on a railroad, is not forced by these elementary necessities to keep his observational powers keen and quick, and many of his occupations call for only a limited use of the observing organs; so that systematic education must provide in his case against the atrophy of these faculties. For the training of this power of observation it does not matter what subject the child studies, so that he study something thoroughly in an observational method. If the method be right, it does not matter, among the numerous subjects well fitted to develop this important faculty, which he choose, or which be chosen for him. The study of any branch of natural history, chemistry, or physics, any well-conducted work with tools or machines, and many of the sports of children and adults, such as sailing, fishing, and hunting, will develop this power, provided thorough exercise of the observational powers be secured. For the purpose we have now in view, it is vastly better that he study one subject thoroughly than several superficially. The field within which the power is exercised may be narrow or special; but these words do not apply to the power. During this training in accurate observation, the youth should learn how hard it is to determine with certainty even an apparently simple fact. He should learn to distrust the evidence of his own senses, to repeat, corroborate, and verify his observations, and to mark the profound distinction between the fact and any inference, however obvious, from the fact.

The next function, process, or operation which education should develop in the individual is the function of making a correct record of things observed. The record may be either mental only, that is, stamped on the memory, or it may be reduced to writing or print. The savage transmits orally to his children or his tribe such records as his brain contains of nature's lore and of his experience in war and the chase; but civilized man makes continuous and cumulative records of sifted, sorted, and grouped facts of observation and experience, and on these records the progress of the race depends. Hence the supreme importance that every child be instructed and drilled at every stage of his education in the art of making an accurate and vivid record of things seen, heard, felt, done, or suffered. This power of accurate description or recording is identical in all fields of inquiry. The child may describe what it sees in a columbine, or in the constellation of Orion, or on the wharves, or in the market, or in the Children's Hos-

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pital, and its power of description may be exercised in speech or in writing; but for the benefit of the community, as distinguished from the satisfaction of the individual and the benefit of his family or associates, the faculty should be abundantly exercised in writing as well as speech. In this constant drill the conscience cannot fail to be refined and instructed; for to make a scrupulously accurate statement of a fact observed, with all needed qualifications and limitations, is as good a training of the conscience as secular education can furnish.

The next mental function which education should develop, if it is to increase reasoning power and general intelligence, is the faculty of drawing correct inferences from recorded observations, a faculty which is almost identical with the faculty of grouping or coördinating kindred facts, comparing one group with another or with all the others, and then drawing an inference which is sure in proportion to the number of cases, instances, or experiences on which it is based. This power is developed by practice in induction. It is often a long way from the patent fact to the just inference. For centuries the Phœnician and Roman navigators had seen the hulls of vessels disappearing below the blue horizon of the Mediterranean while their sails were visible; but they never drew the inference that the earth was round. On any particular topic or subject it may take generations or centuries to accumulate facts enough to establish a just inference or generalization—the earlier accumulations may be insufficient, the first grouping wrong, or the first samplings deceptive—and so the first general inference may be incorrect; but the method, rightly understood and practised, leads straight to truth. It is the patient, candid, impartial, universal method of modern science.

Fourthly, education should cultivate the power of expressing one's thoughts clearly, concisely, and cogently. This power is to be procured only by much practice in the mother tongue, and this practice should make part of every child's education from beginning to end. So far as a good style can be said to be formed or created at all, it is ordinarily formed by constant practice under judicious criticism. If this practice and criticism are supplied, it is unimportant whether the student write an historical narrative, or a translation from Xenophon, or a laboratory note-book, or an account of a case of hypnotism or typhoid fever, or a law-brief, or a thesis on comparative religion; the subject-matter is comparatively indifferent, so far as the cultivation of accurate and forcible speech or writing is concerned. In cultivating any field of knowledge this power of expression can be won if the

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right means be used, and if these means be neglected it will not be won in any field. For cultivating the habit of reasoning justly, however, there is one kind of practice in expressing one's thoughts which has special importance, namely, practice in argumentative composition —in the logical and persuasive development of an argument, starting from well-selected premises and brought to a just conclusion.

Let no one imagine that I am omitting poetry from systematic education. In that highest of all arts of expression, the art of poetry, the four mental functions or operations we have now considered—observing, recording, comparing and inferring, and expressing—may be seen in combination, each often exhibited to high degree. The poet's power of observation often supplies him with his most charming verses. Tennyson noticed that the ash put out its leaves in spring much later than the other trees, and this is the exquisite use he made of that botanical observation:

> "Why lingereth she to clothe her heart with love,
> Delaying, as the tender ash delays
> To clothe herself, when all the woods are green?"

The poet's power of describing, and of stirring and inspiring by his descriptions, depends on the combination in him of keen observation, rare susceptibility to beauty and grandeur, spiritual insight, and faculty of inferential suggestion. In four lines Emerson puts before us the natural and spiritual scene at the Concord River on the 19th of April, 1775:

> "By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
> Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
> Here once the embattl'd farmers stood,
> And fired the shot heard round the world."

In twenty-eight words here are the whole scene and all the essential circumstances—the place and season, the stout actors, their rustic social state, the heroic deed and its infinite reverberation. What an accurate, moving, immortal description is this! Even for logical and convincing argument poetry is often the finest vehicle. If anybody doubts this let him read again the twenty-third Psalm from its opening premise, "The Lord is my shepherd," to its happy conclusion, "Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life"; or let him follow the reasoning of God with Job from the inquiry, "Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?" to Job's conclusion, "Wherefore I abhor myself and repent in dust and ashes."

These, then, are the four things in which the individual youth

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should be thoroughly trained, if his judgment and reasoning power are to be systematically developed: observing accurately; recording correctly; comparing, grouping, and inferring justly, and expressing cogently the results of these mental operations. These are the things in which the population as a mass must be trained in youth, if its judgment and reasoning power are to be systematically developed.

Let us now consider whether the bulk of the work done in free public schools for the mass of the children contributes materially to the development of the mental capacities just described. More than ninety per cent of the school-children do not get beyond the "grades," or the grammar school, as we say in New England. Now, what are the staples of instruction in the "grades," or in the primary and grammar schools of New England? They are reading, spelling, writing, geography, and arithmetic. In very recent years there has been added to these subjects some practice in observation through drawing, manual training, kindergarten work in general, and lessons in elementary science; but these additions to the staple subjects are all recent, and have not taken full effect on any generation now at work in the world. Moreover, it is but a small proportion of the total school-time which is even now devoted to these observational subjects. The acquisition of the art of reading is mostly a matter of memory. It is of course not without effect on the development of the intelligence; but it does not answer well any one of the four fundamental objects in an education directed to the development of reasoning power. The same must be said of writing, which is in the main a manual exercise and one by no means so well adapted to cultivate the powers of observation, the sense of form, and the habit of accuracy as many other sorts of manual work, such as carpentering, turning, forging, and modelling. As to English spelling, it is altogether a matter of memory. We have heretofore put too much confidence in the mere acquisition of the arts of reading and writing. After these arts are acquired there is much to be done to make them effective for the development of the child's intelligence. If his reasoning power is to be developed through reading, he must be guided to the right sort of reading. The school must teach not only how to read, but what to read, and it must develop a taste for wholesome reading. Geography, as commonly taught, means committing to memory a mass of curiously uninteresting and unimportant facts.

There remains arithmetic, the school subject most relied on to train the reasoning faculty. From one-sixth to one-fourth or even one-third of the whole school-time of American children is given to the subject of

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arithmetic—a subject which does not train a single one of the four faculties to develop which should be the fundamental object of education. It has nothing to do with observing correctly, or with recording accurately the results of observation, or with collating facts and drawing just inferences therefrom, or with expressing clearly and forcibly logical thought. Its reasoning has little application in the great sphere of the moral sciences, because it is necessary and not probable reasoning. In spite of the common impression that arithmetic is a practical subject, it is of very limited application in common life, except in its simplest elements—the addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division of small numbers. It indeed demands of the pupil mental effort; but all subjects that deserve any place in education do that. On the whole, therefore, it is the least remunerative subject in elementary education as now conducted.

But let us look somewhat higher in the hierarchy of educational institutions. It has been roughly computed that about five per cent of the school-children in the United States go on to the secondary schools. In these schools is attention chiefly devoted to the development and training of the reasoning faculty? By no means. In most secondary schools of a high class a large part of the whole time is given to the study of languages. Thus in the Cambridge Public Latin School twenty-eight hundred and twenty lessons are devoted in the course of six years to the languages; to all other subjects ten hundred and seventy. At the Ann Arbor High School, in the seven distinct courses all taken together, there are twenty-seven hundred and forty-six lessons in languages, against forty-one hundred and eighty-four in all other subjects,—and this although many options are allowed to the pupils of the school, and the variety of subjects not linguistic is large. In the Lawrenceville School, a well-endowed preparatory school in New Jersey, twenty hundred and thirty-three lessons are devoted to languages, against nineteen hundred and seventeen devoted to all other subjects. Now, the teaching of a language may be made the vehicle of admirable discipline in discriminating thinking; but it is a rare language-teacher who makes it the vehicle of such thinking. The ordinary teaching of a foreign language, living or dead, cultivates in the pupil little besides memory and a curious faculty of assigning the formation of a word or the construction of a phrase to the right rule in the grammar—a rule which the pupil may or may not understand. The preponderance of language lessons in many secondary schools presents, therefore, great dangers. Moreover, in most second-

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ary schools, among the subjects other than languages, there will generally be found several which seem to be taught for the purpose of giving information rather than of imparting power. Such are the common high-school and academy topics in history, natural history, psychology, astronomy, political economy, civil government, mechanics, constitutional law, and commercial law. These subjects, as they are now taught, seldom train any power but that of memory. As a rule, the feebler a high school or academy is, the more these information subjects figure in its programme; and when a strong school offers several distinct courses, the shorter and weaker courses are sure to exhibit an undue number of these subjects. I need not say that these subjects are in themselves grand fields of knowledge and that any one of them might furnish the solidest mental training. It is the way they are used that condemns them. The pupil is practically required to commit to memory a primer or a small elementary manual for the sake of the information it contains. There can be no training of the reason in such a process.

If now we rise to the course which succeeds that of the high school or academy, the college course, we find essentially the same condition of things in most American institutions. The cultivation of the memory predominates; that of the observing, inferring, and reasoning faculties is subordinated. Strangest of all, from bottom to top of the educational system, the art of expressing one's thought clearly and vigorously in the mother tongue receives comparatively little attention.

When one reviews the course of instruction in schools and colleges with the intention of discovering how much of it contributes directly to the development of reasoning power, one cannot but be struck with the very small portion of time expressly devoted to this all-important object. No amount of *memoriter* study of languages or of the natural sciences and no attainments in arithmetic will protect a man or woman—except imperfectly through a certain indirect cultivation of general intelligence—from succumbing to the first plausible delusion or sophism he or she may encounter. No amount of such studies will protect one from believing in astrology, or theosophy, or free silver, or strikes, or boycotts, or in the persecution of Jews or of Mormons, or in the violent exclusion of non-union men from employment. One is fortified against the acceptance of unreasonable propositions only by skill in determining facts through observation and experience, by practice in comparing facts or groups of facts, and by the unvarying habit of questioning and verifying allegations, and of distinguishing

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between facts and inferences from facts, and between a true cause and an antecedent event. One must have direct training and practice in logical speech and writing before he can be quite safe against specious rhetoric and imaginative oratory. Many popular delusions are founded on the commonest of fallacies—this preceded that, therefore this caused that; or in shorter phrase, what preceded, caused. For example: I was sick; I took such and such a medicine and became well; therefore the medicine cured me. During the Civil War the Government issued many millions of paper money, and some men became very rich; therefore the way to make all men richer must be to issue from the Government presses an indefinite amount of paper money. The wages of American workingmen are higher than those of English in the same trades; protection has been the policy of the United States and approximate free trade the policy of England; therefore high tariffs cause high wages. Bessemer steel is much cheaper now than it was twenty years ago; there has been a tariff tax on Bessemer steel in the United States for the past twenty years; therefore the tax cheapened the steel. England, France, and Germany are civilized and prosperous nations; they have enormous public debts; therefore a public debt is a public blessing. He must carry Ithuriel's spear and wear stout armor who can always expose and resist this fallacy. It is not only the uneducated or the little educated who are vanquished by it. There are many educated people who have little better protection against delusions and sophisms than the uneducated; for the simple reason that their education, though prolonged and elaborate, was still not of a kind to train their judgment and reasoning powers.

Again, very few persons scrutinize with sufficient care the premises on which a well-formed argument is constructed. Hence a plausible argument may have strong influence for many years with great bodies of people, when the facts on which alone the argument could be securely based have never been thoroughly and accurately determined. The great public discussion now going on throughout the country affords a convenient illustration. For generations it has been alleged that high tariffs are necessary in this country in order to protect American workmen from the competition of European workmen, whose scales of living and of wages are lower than those of the American; but until within four years no serious attempt has been made to ascertain precisely what the difference really is between the cost of English labor and of American labor on a given unit of manu-

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factured product in the several protected industries. Such inquiries are complicated and difficult, and demand extensive and painstaking research with all the advantages governmental authority can give.

The publication made in 1891 by the Commissioner of Labor at Washington concerning the cost of producing iron and steel is the first real attempt to determine the facts upon which the theory of a single group of important items in our tariff might have been based. This admirable publication is a volume of fourteen hundred pages—mostly statistical tables. One of Mr. Wright's carefully-stated conclusions is that the difference between the direct labor-cost of one ton of steel rails in the United States and in England is three dollars and seventy-eight cents. If we allow the large margin of fifty per cent each way for possible error in these figures, we arrive at the conclusion that the excess of the direct labor-cost of producing from the assembled materials one ton of steel rails in this country lies somewhere between one dollar and eighty-nine cents and five dollars and sixty-seven cents, with the probability in favor of three dollars and seventy-eight cents. Now, the duty on one ton of steel rails is thirteen dollars and forty-four cents; so that it is obvious that the amount of this tax stands in no close relation to the difference between the cost of the American and the English labor, and that some other motive than the protection of American *labor* determined the amount of the tax. Yet the argument that the high-tariff taxes exist for the protection of American wage-earners has long had great weight in the minds of millions of Americans who can read, write, and cipher. For my present purpose it is a matter of indifference whether the assumption which underlies this argument, namely, that workmen are not productive and valuable in proportion to their scale of wages and standard of living, be true or false. What I want to point out is that the argument has no right to much influence in determining the amount of taxes which burden the entire population, inasmuch as the facts on which alone it can be securely based are as yet wanting for a great majority of the protected industries. Is it not quite clear that the people, as a whole, have not been taught to scrutinize severely the premises of an argument to which they are inclined to give weight, and that popular education has never afforded and does not now afford any adequate defence against this kind of unreason?

Let me further observe that throughout all education, both public and private, both in the school and in the family, there has been too much reliance on the principle of authority, too little on the progres-

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sive and persistent appeal to reason. By commands, or by the authoritative imposition of opinions, it is possible for a time to protect a child, or a generation or nation of childish men, from some dangers and errors; but the habit of obedience to authority and of the passive reception of imposed opinions is almost inconsistent with an effective development of reasoning power and of independence of thought.

What, then, are the changes in the course of popular education which we must strive after if we would develop for the future more successfully than in the past the rationality of the population? In the first place, we must make practice in thinking, or in other words the strengthening of reasoning power, the constant object of all teaching, from infancy to adult age, no matter what may be the subject of instruction. After the most necessary manual and mental arts have been acquired, those subjects should be taught most which each individual teacher is best fitted to utilize for making his pupils think, or which develop best in the individual pupil his own power to reason. For this purpose the same subject will not be equally good for all teachers or for all pupils. One teacher can make her pupils think most eagerly and consecutively in the subject of geography, another in zoölogy, and another in Latin. One pupil can be induced most easily to exercise strenuously his powers of observation and discrimination on the facts of a language new to him, another on the phenomena of plant life, and another on the events of some historical period. If only this training could be everywhere recognized in daily practice as the supreme and ultimate object in all teaching, a great improvement would soon be wrought in the results of public instruction.

Besides recognizing in practice this prime object of all education, we can make certain specific changes in the common subjects or methods of instruction which will greatly further this object, and we can promote such useful changes as have already been introduced. Thus we can give wise extension to the true observation studies already introduced into the earlier years of the school system. Again, we can give much more time than is now given to the practice of accurate description and argumentative composition in writing. This practice should begin in the kindergarten and be pursued through the university. We expect to teach children to write English with a very small part of the practice they get in speaking English. With all the practice and criticism of their speech that school-children get every day, correct speech is by no means common. Should we expect to get correct writing with much less attention than we give to speech?

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We must also teach elaborately in schools those subjects which give practice in classification and induction. The natural sciences all lend themselves to this branch of school work; but they must be taught in such a way as to extract from them the peculiar discipline they are fitted to yield. It is of no use to commit to memory books on science. A little information may be gained in this way, but no power. They must be taught by the laboratory method, with constant use of the laboratory note-book, and with careful study of trains of experimentation and reasoning which in times past actually led to great discoveries. Yet to study the natural sciences is not a sure way to develop reasoning power. It is just as easy to teach natural science, even by laboratory methods, without ever making the pupils reason closely about their work, as to teach Latin or German without cultivating the pupils' powers of comparison and discrimination. Effective training of the reasoning powers cannot be secured simply by choosing this subject or that for study. The method of study and the aim in studying are the all-important things.

For the older pupils, the time devoted to historical studies ought to be much increased; not that they may learn the story of dynasties or of wars, but that they may learn how, as a matter of fact, arts came into being, commerce was developed by one city or nation after another, great literatures originated and grew up, new industries arose, fresh discoveries were made, and social conditions were ameliorated. They should discover through what imagining, desiring, contriving, and planning, whether of individual leaders or of masses of men, these great steps in human progress came to be taken. They should study the thinking and feeling of past generations for guidance to right thoughts and sentiments in the present and future. It is a disgrace to organized education that any nation should refuse, as our own people are so apt to do, to learn from the experience of other nations; the schools must have failed to teach history as they should have done. As Benjamin Franklin said, "Experience keeps a dear school; but fools will learn in no other, and scarce in that."

In the higher part of the system of public instruction two difficult subjects deserve to receive a much larger share of attention than they now obtain,—political economy and sociology. They should be studied, however, not as information subjects, but as training or disciplinary subjects; for during the past thirty years the means of using them as disciplinary subjects have been accumulated in liberal measure. They can now be studied in their elements on broad foundations of fact, the

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results of scientific research; and many of their fundamental principles can be placed within the reach of minds not yet adult.

Finally, argumentation needs to be taught systematically in schools; not in the form of a theoretical logic, but in concrete form through the study of arguments which have had weight in determining the course of trade, industries, or public affairs, or have made epochs in discovery, invention, or the progress of science. The actual arguments used by the participants in great debates should be studied, and not the arguments attributed to or invented for the actors long after the event. Books preserve many such epoch-making arguments; and during the present century many which were only spoken have been preserved by stenography and the daily press. For these uses, arguments which can be compared with the ultimate event, and proved true or false by the issue, have great advantages. The issue actually establishes, or disproves, the conclusion the argument sought to establish. As examples of instructive arguments I may cite Burke's argument on conciliation with the American colonies, and Webster's on the nature and value of the Federal Union; the debate between Lincoln and Douglas on the extension of slavery into the Territories; the demonstration by Sir Charles Lyell that the ancient and the present system of terrestrial changes are identical; the proofs contrived and set forth by Sir John Lubbock that the ant exhibits memory, affection, morality, and cooperative power; the prophetic argument of Mill that industries conducted on a great scale will ultimately make liberty of competition illusory, and will form extensive combinations to maintain or advance prices; and that well-reasoned prophecy of disturbance and disaster in the trade of the United States written by Cairnes in September, 1873, and so dramatically fulfilled in the commercial crisis of that month. Such arguments are treasuries of instruction for the rising generation, for they furnish safe materials for thorough instruction in sound reasoning. We have expected to teach sound reasoning incidentally and indirectly, just as we have expected to teach young people to write good English by teaching them foreign languages. It is high time that we taught the young by direct practice and high examples to reason justly and effectively.

Such are some of the measures which we may reasonably hope will make popular education in the future more successful than it has been in the past in developing universal reasonableness.

CHARLES W. ELIOT.

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THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF ST. LOUIS AND INDIANAPOLIS.

In my previous articles I discussed our public-school system in general and the schools of Baltimore, Buffalo, and Cincinnati in particular. In the general discussion I stated that I had found upon my tour of investigation that the schools had advanced in proportion to what had been done by the superintendents and their assistants toward raising the standard of the teachers in their charge. As licenses to teach are in the vast majority of instances granted to persons whose preparation for their work is entirely inadequate, it is but natural that the schools in charge of those superintendents who do most toward training the teachers after their appointment should attain the highest degree of excellence. In regard to the schools of Baltimore, Buffalo, and Cincinnati, I gave a description of some of my class-room experiences which led me to the conclusion that the schools of those cities were upon an extremely low level, and I pointed out that this unfavorable condition of affairs corresponded with the fact that the supervision was very scanty. While in writing about the schools of those three cities supervision was considered mainly from the standpoint of quantity, the purpose of the present article will be to show that a school's advancement does not depend alone upon the amount, but also upon the method, of supervision. All forms of supervision do not tend to improve the teachers. There are indeed, in my opinion, two diametrically opposed methods, one of which has an elevating and the other a depressing tendency, and it is only that form of supervision the direct aim of which is to improve the mind of the teacher that leads to the advancement of the schools.

I have selected for the purpose of pointing out the results of these two widely differing methods of supervision the schools of St. Louis and of Indianapolis, as I know of none better adapted to show where these methods lead when followed for any considerable period. But before entering upon the detailed discussion of these schools, I shall consider the philosophy of the two methods of supervision and their

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natural consequences, so that the reason why the method of supervision is so important an element in determining the character of the schools may be clearly seen.

In one form of supervision the superintendent does little if anything beyond observing that the teachers succeed in putting the child through the studies prescribed for the grade. He visits every school from time to time in order to examine classes, which examination is intended as an examination of the teachers, and the teachers are judged by the results. The important factor to be noted is that the results alone are considered, the manner in which they are reached being left entirely out of consideration. What follows? The teacher strives beyond all else to secure such results as will tell in her favor. Since nothing, as a rule, tells so well at an examination as a knowledge of facts—mental power and moral strength being incapable of measurement—the aim of the teacher becomes to load the memory of her pupils with facts. An ideal teacher will, in spite of the fact that she is judged by results alone, endeavor to secure the desired results without converting her pupils into automatons or robbing them of their happiness. But when, under these conditions, a teacher is wanting in professional skill or sympathy, or both, her teaching will be likely to present a picture of a pure, unadulterated, old-fashioned grind. Her ability is judged by the number of facts which her pupils retain, and she spends all her time in crowding the memory of her pupils with facts. To introduce into a lesson an illustrative story which contains no food for the examination, to allow the child to study an object when the facts relating to that object can be learned so much more quickly by words alone, to allow the pupils time to think or time to move, are things which simply waste the time of the teacher; and why should she waste her time at her own peril?

Reading now becomes the art of recognizing printed or written words at sight without regard to the thought expressed; arithmetic the art of computing numbers without regard to the relation of things; geography and history, physics and physiology simply represent so many words to be memorized by the pupils. If compelling pupils to memorize words be teaching, then indeed is all training superfluous, as any one equipped with the knowledge of the three R's, a sound pair of lungs, and a stout rattan is able to compel children to memorize words. And as long as words alone are taught and the teacher can read words, the teacher is able to secure results regardless of what the subject may be. To her a page consists of a collection of words and

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a book a collection of pages, and with her views upon education there is no reason why she should not teach Spinoza's "Ethics" as well as "Mother Goose's Melodies," "Physiological Chemistry" as well as "Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures," "Kant's Critic of Pure Reason" as well as "What I Know About Farming."

When supervision is conducted upon such principles, though the children be rendered motionless and the room as silent as the grave, the school is entirely lawless, because the only laws which the school should obey—the laws of mental development—are entirely ignored. The superintendent here reigns supreme; his rulings are arbitrary; his word is law. But in exercising his license he deprives the child of his liberty. The child is twisted and turned or made immobile to suit the pleasure of the teacher, and the fact that the child is a frail and tender, loving and lovable human being is entirely disregarded. The innocent child is thrust into bondage, the years of childhood are converted into years of slavery.

The second form of supervision differs from the first in so far as two elements are considered instead of one, the manner in which the results are obtained being regarded as well as the fact that they are obtained. To teach the child by methods approved by the educational scientists, to educate him without destroying his happiness, to allow him to feel that centuries of labor have not been performed in his behalf in vain, is now the aim of the school. In thinking of the future man and woman, the child is not forgotten. It is recognized that the school exists for the child, and that superintendents and teachers are not employed to use, but to serve, the child. Where this sentiment prevails the order of things is entirely reversed. The mind is no longer compelled to suit the methods, but the methods are made to suit the mind. The mind of the child—not the will of the superintendent—is now the ruling spirit of the school, and instead of turning and twisting their pupils at their pleasure superintendent and teachers turn and twist themselves in their endeavors to obey the laws of the mind.

What follows now? Throughout there is an elevating tendency, a tendency on the part of those in charge of the children to strive for professional strength. The teachers study the minds of their pupils as well as works on education in order that they may receive the benefit of the labors of others, and they look to the superintendent for guidance. The attitude of the superintendent becomes changed from that of examiner to the attitude of teacher, and as the teacher of the

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teachers he labors to improve his own mind so that he may keep beyond his students.

In studying the child the teacher strives to learn his innermost thoughts so that she may be able to render her guidance intelligible to him. As she learns to understand him she begins to sympathize with him and in return she secures his love: once his love is secured, he will follow her to the end of the earth and the examinations will take care of themselves. Thus the weight of oppression becomes removed from the child; he becomes free and happy in his freedom, and the school is converted into the loveliest of homes.

In St. Louis we have an example of how sad the lot of the child may become when the superintendents not only do practically nothing toward raising the standard of the teachers by instructing them in the science of education, but where they do much to depress them by examining their classes and judging them by results alone. This form of supervision results in greater depression in St. Louis than in Baltimore or Buffalo or Cincinnati, for the reason that here supervision is no longer nominal (there being four supervising officers to oversee the work of twelve hundred teachers), the larger size of the supervisory staff enabling its members to visit the schools more frequently. The consequence is that the teacher at all times labors under a high degree of pressure for results. To secure the desired results is now her aim, and to secure them the child is ever relentlessly pushed. The fact that the child is a child is entirely forgotten, and the characteristic feature of the St. Louis schools—absolute lack of sympathy for the child—ensues. The unkindly spirit of the teacher is strikingly apparent; the pupils, being completely subjugated to her will, are silent and motionless; the spiritual atmosphere of the class-room is damp and chilly.

In one regard the treatment of the children cannot be considered otherwise than barbarous. During several daily recitation periods, each of which is from twenty to twenty-five minutes in duration, the children are obliged to stand upon the line, perfectly motionless, their bodies erect, their knees and feet together, the tips of their shoes touching the edge of a board in the floor. The slightest movement on the part of the child attracts the attention of the teacher. The recitation is repeatedly interrupted with cries of "Stand straight," "Don't bend the knees," "Don't lean against the wall," and so on. I heard one teacher ask a little boy, "How can you learn anything with

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your knees and toes out of order?" The toes appear to play a more important part than the reasoning faculties. The teacher never forgets the toes; every few moments she casts her eyes "toe-ward."

That such a barbarous procedure should be tolerated in a civilized community to-day is surprising; and when we consider that it exists in a city which may be called the home of the kindergarten, it becomes truly marvellous. In spite of the fact that the kindergarten has been a part of the public-school system of St. Louis for some fifteen years, its spirit has not extended beyond the kindergarten itself, the children in the lowest primary grade being treated with as little consideration as those in the higher grades. The fact that color work has been introduced into the primary grades does not, in my opinion, alter the matter in the least, although it does alter it in the minds of the teachers of St. Louis. The mere introduction of a branch of study into a curriculum is no indication whatever that the proper spirit will enter with it. The spirit lies in the teacher and not in the subject. When the true pedagogical spirit is wanting the instruction will be mechanical whatever the subject be. On the other hand, when the teacher possesses the proper spirit she has the ability to endow the most mechanical subject with life. I witnessed in a Boston primary school a simple phonic drill which was so full of life that it made the children thoroughly enthusiastic.

The methods of instruction followed in the schools of St. Louis, though much less rife with absurdities than those in Baltimore, Buffalo, and Cincinnati, and though concert recitations (to my knowledge) do not exist, are nevertheless mechanical and calculated to crowd the memory with cut-and-dried facts. As they are not very suggestive, I shall not describe them in detail. The results from a quantitative standpoint are, in my opinion, exceptionally good. That they should be so is but the natural consequence of the fact that the children work constantly under pressure. Though the children learn a large number of facts, the price which they pay for them is a terrible one. During the recitations I found all spontaneity on the part of the child suppressed. When a pupil endeavored to give vent to his thoughts he was cut short by some such remark as "Speak when you are spoken to," "Don't talk, but listen," "You mustn't raise your hands."

Arithmetic is taught mechanically and abstractly almost from the start. Objective work is at a minimum. The recitations in geography are so formal that the children themselves frequently keep the ball rolling, the teacher's part in the lesson being limited to saying,

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"Right," "Wrong," "Next," "Don't lean against the wall," "Keep your toes on the line." One thing, however, may be learned of St. Louis, namely, that when phonics are well taught—and they are well taught in that city—the children make very rapid progress in overcoming the mechanical difficulties in reading. At St. Louis the children certainly read as well at the end of four or five months as those attending many of the schools where no phonics are taught read at the end of two years.

When the lot of the St. Louis school-child will become a happier one, it is indeed difficult to predict. The method of supervision, as we have seen, is certainly not calculated to advance the schools, its tendency being to lower rather than to raise the standard of the teachers, to suppress rather than to encourage attempts to teach naturally—in fact, to reduce the trained to the level of the untrained teacher. Another circumstance that does much to prevent the St. Louis schools from advancing is the fact that they are almost exclusively in the hands of teachers who were brought up under the St. Louis system, and who, from actual experience, know practically nothing of what is going on in the educational world outside of their own city.

The scene presented in the Indianapolis class-room differs so widely from the scene presented in the school-room of St. Louis that it would scarcely appear that these two institutions had anything in common. This striking contrast is due to the fact that the Indianapolis schools abound in the element which in St. Louis is so obviously lacking—consideration for the child, sympathy. The cold, hard, and cruel struggle for results is here unknown. The teacher uses every means at her command to render the life of the child happy and beautiful, without endangering its usefulness.

I entered one of the rooms containing the youngest children at the time of the opening exercises. The scene I encountered was a glimpse of fairyland. I was in a room full of bright and happy children, whose eyes were directed toward the teacher, not because they were forbidden to look in any other direction, but because to them the most attractive object in the room was their teacher. She understood them, sympathized with and loved them, and did all in her power to make them happy. The window-sills were filled with plants, and plants were scattered here and there throughout the room. The teacher's desk was strewn with flowers, and upon each of the children's desks flowers had been placed to welcome the little ones to school.

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After the children had sung a few little songs the first lesson of the day was in order. This was a lesson in science; its subject was a flower. It began with the recitation of a poem. The object of introducing these poems into the plant and animal lessons is to inspire the child with love for the beautiful, with love for nature, and with sympathy for all living things. In the lower grades of the schools of Indianapolis much more stress is laid upon the life of the plant and the relation of the child to the plant than upon its structure; and the child is taught rather how to preserve and to protect it than how to dissect it, so that lessons upon plants (and animals) partake as much of moral as of science lessons.

Before the teacher endeavored to bring out the points to which she desired to direct the special attention of the class, the children were urged to make their own unaided observations and to express them. As each child was anxious to tell what he had observed in relation to the plant itself, what he otherwise knew of it, how it grew, where it grew, and perhaps some little incident which the flower recalled to him, the class was full of life and enthusiasm. A few minutes sufficed to bring the children to the point beyond which they could not proceed unaided. When this point was reached the teacher came to the rescue, and by careful questioning led the children to observe the particular things to which she had decided to call their attention that morning. Her questions were not put to individual children, but to the whole class, so that every question might serve to set every pupil observing and thinking. That they did observe and think was shown by the number of hands that were raised in answer to every question. In all, fifteen minutes were devoted to this lesson. When the science lesson was over, some of the children were called to the front of the room to read; and silent or busy work was assigned those remaining at their seats.

The book used during this reading-lesson was the book of nature —the plant they had just been studying. The scene presented by the happy little children each with a flower in his hand, surrounding the teacher who was smiling upon them, was truly beautiful. For reading-matter the children were called upon for sentences expressing thoughts concerning their flowers. The sentences were written upon the board by the teacher, and when a number of them had been written the pupils began to read them. The children were interested because they all took an active part in the lesson from the beginning to the end. They were all observing, all thinking, they all had some-

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thing to say and were glad of an opportunity to tell what they had to say. The teacher was fully as enthusiastic as her pupils, and as much pleased as they when the children made a bright remark. That, in spite of her gentleness, she had them completely under her control was shown by the fact that they were more than willing to do anything she asked them to do.

How shocked some of our so-called disciplinarians would have been had they witnessed this lesson! The children were expected to talk and they had much to say, and their hands were ever in sight. Our disciplinarian calls the child orderly only when he has nothing to say, when he has no thoughts to express, and when his hands are nowhere in sight. The children's toes were not on the line, but were so arranged that they might be as near their teacher as possible. Some of the little ones even committed the crime of laying their hands upon the teacher, and she so far forgot herself as to fondle them in return. Yet the discipline was perfect. What is perfect discipline in the class-room but perfect attention? There was no noise, there were everywhere signs of life, and such signs of life as become a gathering of young children.

Meanwhile the pupils who had remained at their seats, though practically left to themselves, were far from idle. They had no time for idleness or mischief; they were too deeply absorbed in their work for that. They as well as the others were studying the book of nature, and these little six-year-olds and seven-year-olds were doing thoughtful work even without the aid of the teacher. They were not only reading from their flowers, they were painting them, writing little stories about them, utilizing them for number, form, and color work, and exercising their powers of observation and thought upon them; and, strange to say, every child was doing nearly all of these things at one and the same time.

How can these little pupils perform such miracles? There are no miracles involved. The teacher had simply given the children each a box of paints, a brush, and a flower, and had told them to paint the flower and write a story about it. That all these things resulted is shown by the illustrations on the next page, which represent the busy-work of various schools.[1]

What has been described represents the work performed during

[1] The child is permitted to alternate between the use of letter cards and the pencil in forming his words, so that he may be relieved of the physical strain consequent upon writing.

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the first twenty-five minutes of the morning session in the lowest primary grade. I regret that space will not permit me, in the present article, to enter further upon the detailed description of these charming schools. Enough, however, has been said to demonstrate the educational principle upon which they are conducted. The spirit that is

One butterfly has four wings. How many two wings have two butterflies?

Come again buttercup

where did you grow little flower

Roy Spilt man

This is an apple leaf

This leaf does not look like the geranium leaf

It is the shape of an egg

A Pansy has five petals.
A tulip has three petals.
How many more has the pansy?

manifested in the room I have described is typical of the Indianapolis schools.

Although the work is rendered beautiful, the final results are certainly not below the level of those attained at the mechanical schools, the useful being by no means neglected. The differences in this re-

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gard between schools such as those of Indianapolis and schools of a mechanical order are that in the former the children learn to think while memorizing facts, and that they are educated without being deprived of their happiness. Reading-books are used as well as the book of nature, but the teachers endeavor to use these books in such a manner that the child will receive the benefit of the thoughts expressed in them as well as an exercise in recognizing words. I attended a lesson when the children were reading from the book the story of the snail. The pupils became intensely interested during the lesson, and they became interested simply because the teacher had brought a living snail to school with her that morning in order to give the pupils an opportunity to follow its movements while reading about it. The attention was absolutely perfect. Phonics also are taught, but the phonic drill is kept apart from the reading-lesson.

In all the work throughout the schools, whether the subject be geography, history, language, or science, the thought is the main thing considered, purely mechanical cram-work when found being immediately stopped by the superintendents. In geography the moulding-board is ever in use, and occasionally, though not with sufficient frequency, geographical excursions are taken. The "busy-work" above illustrated is simple, because it represents the work of the first school-year, but the idea upon which it is founded is utilized in all the grades, and the development of the child's powers is thus at the same time beautifully demonstrated.

The vast difference between the schools of St. Louis and Indianapolis can, in large part, be accounted for by the difference in their methods of supervision. While in St. Louis practically nothing is done by the superintendents toward improving the minds of their teachers, at Indianapolis the education of the teachers is the all-important aim of the supervision. Indeed, the school system of Indianapolis represents a training-school of which the class-teachers are the students and the supervising officers the teachers. The exact nature of the work done by the superintendents of Indianapolis will be best described by quoting their own words from letters which they were kind enough to write to me in answer to definite inquiries upon this point. Mr. L. H. Jones, who has been superintendent of the schools of Indianapolis for eight years, writes as follows:

"My work of guidance is broadly divided into two parts: first, that done in clubs, teachers' meetings, grade meetings, etc.; and, secondly, that which is accomplished in conversation with individual teachers. The most important of

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all is the principals' club. This meets every Tuesday evening during the school year, and the entire evening is devoted to the discussion of some phase of the science of education. I lead the discussion. We all find that the best thoughts evolved at the discussions soon unconsciously permeate the practice of all of us. Some of the most serviceable discussions have been upon such subjects as 'The Rights of the Child in School,' 'How to Treat Children,' 'How to Manage a School so that its Administration Shall of Itself Enforce Ethical Laws.' These have led to numerous sub-topics, and we have taken time to follow each into its minutest ramifications. Much of our inspiration and many helpful things have come from books. The club has read during the years since its organization, 'The Philosophy of Education,' by Rosenkranz, Froebel's 'Education of Man,' Harris' 'Educational Psychology,' Painter's 'History of Education,' Bain's 'Education as a Science,' and others. The whole system of school management for the city has been modified, tempered, and directed by the discussions of this club.

"Next, the monthly (Saturday) meetings of teachers have given me an opportunity to lecture upon these and similar topics. At these meetings, too, I have discussed the philosophy of instruction, and have talked at length upon the teaching of the various subjects of the course of study. At these meetings we have also frequently had lectures from prominent teachers of this and other States."

Miss N. Cropsey, the assistant superintendent, whose special work is to supervise the primary schools, writes:

"First, I try to keep in touch with the children and to make such tests as will give the facts upon which to base judgment of progress. I try to have as thorough a knowledge as possible of each school and each individual teacher. My noon hour and the time from 4.30 P.M. to 6 o'clock I spend talking with teachers individually. Secondly, I meet with the teachers for a philosophic study of the science of education and its application to our work. I have felt that teachers and superintendents should be learners, and have experienced what Dr. Arnold of Rugby felt to be a necessity—that his pupils should 'drink from a running stream rather than from a stagnant pool.' We have always had meetings of this kind since I have been engaged in this work. For the past six years I have met the teachers one afternoon of each week, to study for an hour (from 4.30 to 5.30) some great master in education. Two years were spent upon Froebel's 'Education of Man'; one year upon Rosmini's 'Method in Education'; one year upon Emerson's 'Nature Essays,' taking the whole series; part of one year upon the little book called 'Apperception,' by T. G. Rooper. This gives you some idea of the authors we have studied.

"Our method has been to read slowly and carefully, and to let no difficulty pass unchallenged, to bring to these profound thoughts our closest attention, feeling that we should get from them mental training of the severe kind.

"Thus we get our general view of education, which gives color to all we do in every school exercise. In our discussions we try to make an application to the subjects we teach and to determine what the environment of the child should be. Once a month we give Saturday forenoon to grade meetings. Some one of the school subjects is discussed. Sometimes we have a class of children present. I also call grade meetings after school during the week. Sometimes (not often) I have had a meeting during the forenoon. I have met one section of the

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teachers at one of the schools. We have observed the work until recess, and after dismissing the children discussed it. We have found this very helpful. For grade work I meet the teachers in sections; for the study of psychology or the science of education, in much larger section, taking two or three grades together. These last-mentioned meetings are voluntary, but all teachers come.

"The teachers' meeting is by all means the greatest instrumentality for making progress. Teachers are not unwilling, as a rule, to attend meetings if something of value is to be done. When I first began this work we made much more of formal methods. I found that we fell into formal teaching and that we needed a broader view of the human being. It is easy to lay out formal lessons. It is not easy to give such training as shall make self-active, powerful, helpful, beautiful, happy human beings—what we call in our school law 'good citizens' in the best and true sense. I think the teachers are truly alive and working from the thought side. We know that we know very little about the science of education, but we are trying very hard to learn something."

Miss Cropsey has held her present position for six years, though she has been connected with the schools of Indianapolis for a very much longer period. Besides the superintendent and the supervisor of primary schools, there are nine supervising principals whose work partakes much of the same nature as the work of the critic-teachers of the normal school. They attend the lessons of the class-teachers, criticise them, and themselves frequently give model lessons which are freely discussed. Throughout the normal-school plan is retained. Each school also has a principal of its own, but the duties of the principals do not, I believe, extend beyond teaching a class of their own and exercising a general supervision over the building and the discipline of the school. As in other cities, there are special teachers. In all, there are some three hundred and fifty teachers.

In regard to the appointment of teachers, although the power of appointing them lies legally in the hands of the Board of Education, their selection has been left in the hands of the superintendent. *In no way have politics ever come into play in relation to the selection and discharge of teachers, nor have they interfered in any other way with the management of the schools.* The number of teachers appointed annually is about thirty-five. Of these some twenty are graduates of the Indianapolis normal school, the others being selected from the schools of other cities. The educators of Indianapolis entertain an exceptionally high regard for the services rendered by Miss Nicholson, the principal of the normal school.

So each in his own sphere endeavors, to the best of his ability, to contribute his share toward the advancement of the schools, and great credit is due Superintendent Jones for the firmness with which his

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forces are combined and for the absolute harmony that prevails among them. To speak in detail of the philosophy of the work of the Indianapolis schools would require a volume upon the science of education. I shall, therefore, be able to do no more than touch upon the principles involved. The underlying principle is what is known in education as *the idea of unification*, which means the combination of the various branches of knowledge so that they may acquire more meaning by being seen in their relations to one another. An isolated fact is food for the memory alone, and it is only when this fact is seen in its relations to other facts that it becomes interesting, and the reasoning faculties are brought into play.

For example: spelling in itself is dry, mechanical, and uninteresting, and the same is true of penmanship. On the other hand, an amusing incident is full of life. Now, if spelling and penmanship can be brought in relation to this incident, they may be made to acquire enough meaning to become interesting in themselves to the child. A little boy is much amused before breakfast by seeing his cat jump over a stick. Soon after this occurrence he goes to school. The teacher instructs reading by the sentence-method. During the reading-lesson she calls upon the children for little stories, and she writes them upon the board as reading-matter. When our little boy tells his story, he says, "My cat kin jump." The teacher remarks, "My cat can jump," and writes this sentence upon the board. When the reading-lesson is over, each child is told to write his own story upon his slate. The little boy sets to work and draws the words of his story as he sees them on the board. He is happy to find that he has the ability to write a story about his cat, and he thinks school is a jolly place because it has something to do with his cat. He knows nothing of penmanship or spelling or language; he has nevertheless received instruction in no less than four subjects, namely, language, reading, writing, and spelling. At another school the picture of a cat would have been shown to the child, the word "cat" would have been written upon the blackboard, and he would have sung repeatedly, "c-a-t, cat; c-a-t, cat." After the reading-lesson he would have been sent to his seat to write upon his slate things entirely uninteresting to him, such as columns of figures or letters or words. He would have received instruction in spelling and penmanship, but he would have worked entirely without thought. The lessons would have been a bore to him, and he would have received the impression that school was a place which had nothing to do with the outside world.

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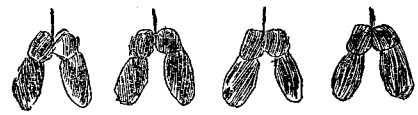
Again, the color chart is dead; straight and curved lines are lifeless; the cube is a piece of wood with six sides. Give the child a paint-brush and a flower and tell him to paint the flower, then colors and geometrical forms become endowed with life. When our teacher told the child to paint the flower and to write a story about it, he set to work with enthusiasm upon no less than half a dozen subjects, each one of which served to render the others interesting. In the science-lesson that I have described the poem endowed the flower with life and the flower the poem with life, and poem and flower combined touched the æsthetic and sympathetic feelings of the child. In a



If a pansy has five petals
and one petal falls off
four petals will be left.

If a maple seed has two wings
how many wings have four
maple seeds?

similar manner geography renders history interesting, and history gives life to geography, and so on to the end of the list.

But unification in itself does not make a good school, because it is not the course of studies but the teacher that determines the character of the school. What unification does, however, is to give the teacher an opportunity to develop her powers. A mechanical curriculum exerts a pressure upon the teacher and does much to prevent her from rising. With the introduction of a philosophical course of studies this pressure is removed; but whether she will rise and how much she will rise will depend upon herself and upon the nature of the guidance she receives from others. The Indianapolis schools, though upon a rather high level, and, in my opinion, among our best, are not perfect. A perfect school means a perfect teacher, a teacher who possesses a beautiful character, education, culture, and great professional strength. The Indianapolis teacher is not perfect. Her spirit is beautiful, but her professional strength, though it compares favorably with the strength of the best of our teachers, is not yet great. The first steps toward the ideal have been made. The teacher works

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thoughtfully and she has learned how to render instruction so interesting that the child will naturally attend. The ideal, however, consists not only in thus securing the attention of the child, but in utilizing the attention to the best possible advantage so that none of the energies of the child shall be wasted.

A thoroughly good lesson is a work of art. To witness one such affords as much genuine pleasure as a performance by a genius upon a musical instrument. In order that a lesson may be perfect a number of things must be observed. Some of these are, generally speaking—they are not always necessary—the following: first, the aim of the lessons must be clear and kept clearly in mind throughout the lesson, so that each question shall lead the child nearer to the desired end; secondly, there must be a proper development, the points must be well brought out, the essential must be distinguished from the non-essential; and, thirdly, the development must be followed by a drill so that the points which have been developed may become firmly fixed in the mind of the pupil. If a lesson fail in any of these points the energies of the child will not be utilized to the best advantage. Furthermore, the pupil must be led to compare and classify facts intelligently and to apply principles after they have been gained; in other words, the inductive and deductive processes must be applied in their proper places. The teacher plays upon far the most delicate instrument in existence—the human mind. To touch the proper chord with every question is a matter of great delicacy and difficulty. Simply to hear children recite lessons that they have learned from a text-book is the music of an organ-grinder.

In conducting a recitation the German school-master in my opinion stands preëminent. But even the best of school-masters seldom gives a lesson which is in every way satisfactory to himself. I have attended many lessons in Germany—and particularly in Jena, one of the world's centres of pedagogical thought—which were thoroughly planned, beautiful, interesting, but which were in spite of all considered failures because they were weak in one or more of the above-mentioned elements. This is instruction converted into a fine art. When our teachers combine the beautiful spirit of the Indianapolis teacher with the technique of the German school-master, America will have the best schools in the world. To exchange our spirit for the German's technique would, I think, be taking a backward step. We must not be content until we have both.

Considering education from the broader side, unification appears

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to be the proper basis for a philosophical development of the mind. But here again perfection can be sought but never be reached. To unify to perfection is as difficult as to teach to perfection. To unify the proper studies, not to force and overdo unification, because unification in general is a good thing, are matters attended with insurmountable difficulties. And before perfection can be thought of a third point must be considered, namely, perfection in consecutiveness. To teach well is one thing, to unify properly another, and to prepare a course of studies in a manner which shall secure the gradual development of the powers of the child, which shall guard against covering the same ground over and over again and against skipping any links in the chain is a third. The educators of Indianapolis are working in the proper direction; they have already accomplished much and they will accomplish more. Everything will never be done, the ideal will never be reached.

J. M. Rice.

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POLITICS AS A CAREER.

"Communities could not exist without foresight to discern as well as exertion to effectuate the measures requisite for their safety."—*Aristotle's Politics, Book 1.*

To think of politics as a career leads instantly to the inquiry, What is politics in which and for which the chief occupation of a citizen is to be carried on? A precise definition, inclusive and exclusive, would be too long for this paper, even if it were possible to state one that should not be justly open to criticism. For the present purpose, the definition may be briefly stated thus: the science of governing, and the art of applying the principles of that science to the promotion of the equal security, safety, liberty under equal law, and the prosperity of the whole body of the people of a commonwealth. The National Government and the forty-four States present a vast and varied field for the study and practice of politics as a career; that is, provided the field can be entered and held and its triumphs and rewards can be counted upon with sufficient certainty to furnish a rational and adequate motive for devoting one's self to such a career in the same way as that of farming, trade, manufacture, art, architecture, law, medicine, etc., are respectively taken up as the business of life according to the inclinations and opportunities of different men.

A knowledge of political systems and of the substantial character and probable effect of laws ought to be universal in our country, where every citizen is in reality a lawmaker and where every citizen has a direct and responsible part in the choice of those who administer the laws. If this be true, it is certain that no one ought to be a voter, and much less a principal executive officer, who is not in a substantial degree possessed of such knowledge. Law and government directly affect the welfare of the whole mass of the people either actively or passively, and to put the power of making and administering laws into the hands of those ignorant of the nature, spirit, and effect of law is as absurd and at last more disastrous than to leave the blind to direct the paths of those who can see, or to put hospitals in charge of those who know nothing either of the nature of diseases or of rem-

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edies. Other things being equal, those succeed best in all personal pursuits who best understand the end they desire to attain and the best means for its accomplishment. This is equally true of government, and far more important, for the success or failure of a single man in his life work is but a drop in the great stream of human affairs; but success or failure in government affects millions at once, and may promote or retard the good progress of a nation for a century. All these are self-evident truths, but like those stated in that greatest document of modern times, our Declaration of Independence, their actual application to affairs is very far from being complete or even general, though it is a glad thing to know that on the whole we draw nearer and nearer to them in our social and political progress.

Every one, therefore, ought to be a politician in the best sense of the term; but to be a politician in this sense is not the mere thing of entering upon politics as a career and calling of life. Every man who has a political career may be a politician, though many are not; but all men who are politicians cannot have any political career at all. There is no room for all, but only for the very smallest fraction of the great mass. Which among so many will be the fortunate or the unfortunate ones to be chosen legislators or executive officers is perhaps the most uncertain of human uncertainties. The careers of private life can in general be chosen and entered upon at will, and usually they look chiefly and rightly to the personal advantage and prosperity of the man himself and of his family; but the true and honest follower of a political career must look, not to personal gains and benefits, but to the general good of the vast brotherhood of men. His rewards, such as they are—and they are sometimes great and noble—should come, not as the sought-for and demanded price for service, but as the gratefully bestowed offerings of a benefited people. He who is actuated by other motives in his political life is likely either to develop into a first-class demagogue or to degenerate into a condition of pecuniary corruption, or both.

The Western hemisphere, with a single half-exception in the Dominion of Canada, has its governments based on written constitutions which in theory are the sovereign work and express the deliberate will of the majority of the whole people, and in which the art or the business or the trade of politics may be supposed to be equally open to all—either, as the case may be, as a duty, unselfish and untiring, for the common weal, or as a calling pursued for the private gain of the man or woman who undertakes it. The definition of politics

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with which we began is evidently quite a mistaken one, or else there is in the wide and varied circumstances of the great families of nations a deep need of the pursuit of political knowledge, and the practice of politics by those who earnestly believe in the common rights of men, and in their capacity for knowing or being taught to know political good from political evil, and of learning how to do justice to others and to defend themselves from injustice.

But there are politics and politics, politicians and politicians, careers and careers. There is the politics of nihilism, and there is the nihilist politician, who makes his career that of looking to the murder of kings, princes, potentates, and rulers who, he thinks, or pretends to think, stand in the way of a reorganization of society by the destruction of all that exists and by the building of a new society of which or in which the slayer of rulers shall be chief. The anarchist has a political career always, and he outdoes even the nihilist in the tragedy of positive politics.

There is the politics of socialism. The socialistic politician is in general humane, and does not believe that the condition of society is to be ameliorated by murder and pillage. He has a theory of government that is beautiful in the abstract, as beautiful in the domain of sociology as perpetual motion is in the field of physical science. He has not worked out all his plans with the precision of Plato in his "Republic," but he thinks he sees how beneficent it would be if it only would work. He knows that human happiness—food, shelter, clothing, knowledge—can be had only by labor and virtue dealing with the gifts of earth and nature. But when he is asked, by others as sincere in their wishes for the good of men as he, to point out in what manner he would change the laws and their administration, he is quite unable to do so in any fundamental way. He may touch the surface of things, as sentimentalists have done, by proposing a universal eight-hour law, but he sees that the total production would be no more and the total health and education would be no more; and he and all his brethren would resist to the last extremity a law that should *compel* them either to work eight or any other number of hours, or *forbid* him or them working longer than eight hours either for others or themselves. If he turns, as many very practical politicians in other countries and sundry very practical and some very unpractical people in this country do, to the very potent panacea of "free trade" to help the condition of those who honestly and diligently strive and hope for better progress, he finds that if he can buy the

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productions that he needs from other countries cheaper than from his neighbors, he also must sell the productions of his own labor and the labor itself, if it be in demand at all, at a cheaper rate; and that the gain, if any, that he has made in his purchases has been doubly outweighed by the losses on his side as a seller of labor and products.

Then there are the politicians who arrange combinations of workingmen in most of the various occupations of labor—combinations very often necessary and praiseworthy as the means of opposing counter-power to the combinations of capitalists and employers; but when these combinations are once formed, they are often so misled that they fly in the very face of the principles of liberty for workingmen upon which they were founded, by exerting unlawful and cruel violence to other workingmen who wish to exercise their liberty of labor, if they attempt to perform the work from which a given combination of their fellows has withdrawn. Some of these workingmen's societies, as can be seen in the very capital of this nation of liberty, are so tyrannically constituted and managed that some sons and daughters of their members find it absolutely impossible to learn the trades and follow the occupations of their fathers and mothers.

Then there are the politicians of race—not to go through with the whole list—whose political mission and career are to keep up and solidify distinctions of race and nationality among citizens of the United States of foreign birth and their descendants, by establishing and solidifying organizations necessarily political in their character, whether professedly so or not, and to bring their power to bear in that character upon the elections, law-making, and administration of this country, forgetting or not caring that when they became citizens of the United States they made *this* country, and no other, their own. Many such organizations might be fairly characterized, in a moral sense, as independent foreign political communities exerting their power upon the institutions of the country according as their reason or their prejudice or their ignorance may from time to time lead them to act. This has been sadly illustrated in connection with the recent Presidential election. We have seen that some gentlemen of high personal character and of large political fame have undertaken to affect the politics of this country and the election of its next President by issuing addresses to and instituting meetings for their fellow-citizens of foreign birth and trying to point out to their "German-American fellow-citizens," for instance, what should be their particular duty and interest as distinguished from those of other citizens of

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the United States in respect of the choice of a President and the policy of our legislation, as if our so-called German-American fellow-citizens, or Irish, or French, or English, or whatever nationality, could have or ought to have any possible difference of duty, interests, or aspirations from the millions of those who have never been anything else than simply Americans.

He who takes up politics as the chief occupation of his life, as one takes up agriculture or manufacturing or any other calling, enters upon a career of much larger significance and much greater difficulty and responsibility than that of the politician that every citizen must and ought to be. The first duty of man is to provide by honest means for the maintenance of himself and his family, that is, if he have a family. Honest politics as a pursuit does not furnish such means except in the small class of administrative employments, and then only in a very meagre degree. In such cases, the end of the office-holder's career, either by death or the other casualties of place, very often leaves his family and himself stranded on an almost desert shore. The associations and employments of private life are gone, and the savings of the best economy are small if they exist at all. Uncertainty and dismay stare him in the face, and too often "in a whole city full, home he has none." If we turn to the wider field of elective and legislative politics, the same duty and the same necessity exist.

The patriotic citizen who applies himself to the study and practice of politics must have his worldly competence already assured, or he must starve, or be tempted to forget or disregard his patriotism—one of the essential elements of which is honesty—and pursue politics as a *trade*, from which personal and pecuniary gain is to be derived. In the first case, if the man with a competence becomes a politician, it is from the patriotic motive, pure and simple, of doing good to his fellow-men, without selfish ambition of his own; or he follows it from a desire to attain station and place of power; or his ultimate motive may be a blending of both of these. If he be the rare individual who pursues politics from the first-mentioned motive and aspires to nothing but to study and understand the institutions of his country and to make known his knowledge and the reason of it to his fellow-citizens, he is indeed a living beneficence; and the more of such politicians a country can possess, the better. They may not agree in respect to the ascertainment of their historical or practical facts; they may widely diverge in their conclusions in regard to the best policies to be pursued; yet they are none the less the most valuable part of a

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political community. If places of authority and power are bestowed upon them by the selection of their fellow-citizens rather than by their own solicitations, such honors become decorations of greater value than the prizes of Grecian games or the boss-ships of States.

If the motive be, as has been and probably always will be generally the case, a compound one made up of patriotism and selfishness, the value of such a political career may be fairly measured by the proportion of the pure gold of patriotism and the alloy of self-seeking which the particular person may happen to contain in his character. If, as in that of Lincoln or Grant, the alloy of personal gratifications and advantages is of the smallest, the career becomes noble, not only in the achievement of personal aims, but in its lasting effects upon the commonwealth. If, like that of Cæsar or Napoleon, the elements of personal gratification and aggrandizement greatly preponderate, the career, however brilliant it may appear, is essentially ignoble, and in proportion to its success it brings a curse to the people that generations may not entirely efface. There are living examples, great and small the world over, illustrating the same law. We say law, because there is in the sphere of politics and affairs a reign of law as supreme and inexorable as in the field of nature and science, where the penalties are always imposed and where there are no weak executives to pardon and no corrupt officials to permit escapes.

If we descend still lower in the grade of motives and reach the class of politicians whose sole reason for devoting themselves to politics is to get gain for themselves either in money or power, and with whom measures proposed or adopted are mere pawns on the chess-board of affairs, to be played to catch the eyes or please the ears of the people, we find perhaps the most dangerous and injurious elements, short of nihilism and anarchism, in the structure of political society. The violators of specific law may be and generally are punished, but the corrupt and selfish demagogue is beyond the reach of codes and courts. Yesterday he was a Republican of Republicans; to-day he is a Democrat of Democrats, and failing to get what or all he wants under these names, to-morrow he is a Mugwump or a Prohibitionist or an Alliance man, etc.—all depending on how he thinks it most profitable to gamble in the market of politics.

As we have already said, every person, certainly in a republic, ought to be a politician in some way; but to pursue a career, as such, implies much more. Assuming, as may be safely done, that the great majority of young citizens are honest, the chances for them of a good

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political career have many attractions; but if that career is to be exclusive of the private pursuit of some business or profession, it will be found difficult and disappointing. Indeed, only those of assured competence could enter it. And the best efforts of the wisest and ablest man among them may keep him a whole lifetime in the minority, and neither the good to his fellow-men he wished to accomplish nor the laurels he might justly think ought to rest on his head may ever be definitely attained. If he should happen to be so constituted and self-disciplined that in such a case he could still feel the joy of "Marcellus exiled" or of the Happy Warrior of Wordsworth, he would even then have his exceeding great reward. But if he were of the average stuff that men are made of, he would be likely at the end to feel that his career had been a failure, and look back upon it with regret, if not with bitterness. On the other hand, if he should succeed in impressing his ideas of policies and administrations upon his fellow-citizens, and become clothed by their free choice with the duties and responsibilities of legislative or administrative station, he would very likely find that the heaviest of his labors and the severest of his trials were now inseparably associated with the making and administration of those laws the principles of which he had shown to be so plain; for the just application of the clearest general principles of good government in specific detail to the complex and often antagonistic interests of society is a far more difficult and delicate work than the demonstration that certain ends ought to be attained for the best average good of the commonwealth. To accomplish these he must have strength, patience, persistence, and that "self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control" that will enable him to pity and help the weakness of the timid, to be indifferent to the envy and jealousy of the many, and to bear without flinching the calumnies of unscrupulous foes. The world has not been wanting in such men, and its progress upward has been due mainly to them. But whether their own lives have been the happier for such labors, with such inevitable trials and exposures, may be greatly doubted. Comparisons and illustrations without end might be referred to, but they are needless.

In the century of our political existence there have been very few, if indeed any, instances of the pursuit of politics as a career otherwise than in the lowest and worst forms to which we have alluded. The politicians who have been most largely useful to the country and most often in public service have been men still engaged in one way or another in occupations common to their fellow-citizens, and they have

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been called into public affairs by considerations far other than personal self-seeking. They came to possess and exercise power, not as professional experts looking for employment, but were called as the best representative exponents of the social and political views of the communities of which they were homogeneous parts. This is the essential idea of representative government. He is the best politician and will have the best political career whose every-day life and occupations are in contact and sympathy with those of his fellow-men. He accepts public employment and exercises public power as a duty, and it may be as a pleasure, when called to do it, and thus he is able in the changes and chances of political movements to leave them without regret and feel himself again happily at home in his former place among the people.

Inasmuch as we believe in the divine order that places the sum of human happiness within the reach of all men, and inasmuch as only the smallest proportion of the members of a political community can possibly be employed in carrying on a government, it would seem to follow that politics as a career cannot be looked to by young Americans as the best choice of occupation in life; and leaving aside considerations of individual happiness and the faculties, tastes, and ambitions that affect it, the very principle and structure of a republic would seem to be opposed to the idea of the profession of politics to be taken up and pursued as law, or medicine, or engineering are. A political class in a republic must always be in danger of becoming, or trying to become, the master and dictator of political movements—a Trust of Bossism and corruption, of which there is already an overabundance.

GEO. F. EDMUNDS.

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WOMEN IN ENGLISH POLITICS.

FOREIGN students of English political and social history have often remarked upon our national habit of grafting new ideas upon the stem of old institutions. This tendency preserves, frequently, at the cost of logical completeness, the continuity of our social and political development. We have had no violent breaks into our past; we have spelt, as Mr. Lowell has said, revolution without the r, and changes of deep and far-reaching significance have been wrought quietly, step by step, causing hardly a ripple on the smooth outer surface of the busy life of the English people. Our institutions have shown, as Mr. Lecky has recently pointed out, the true characteristic quality—the power of adaptation to changed conditions and new utilities. Constantly changing, constantly growing, we have forgotten that

> "Our lives came to us from afar,
> And what we have been
> Makes us what we are."

In no department of English social and political life has this tendency toward steady, quiet, unceasing growth, with its repugnance to revolutionary or catastrophic changes, been more conspicuous than in the recent development of the personal and proprietary independence of women and in the extending to them also of political privileges.

In a certain sense no doubt there is nothing new in a country with a past such as ours in the active participation of women in politics. Six hundred years ago abbesses, equally with male ecclesiastical dignitaries, were summoned to sit in Parliament; in later times the ownership of boroughs returning members of Parliament could devolve, and not infrequently did devolve, on ladies. The story is well known of the famous Anne, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, who on the restoration of Charles II. received a letter from the Secretary of State, recommending, with some urgency, a candidate for one of her boroughs. She replied, "I have been bullied by a usurper, I have been neglected by a court, but I will not be dictated to by a subject. Your man shan't stand." But the most valuable historical evidence of the capacity of women for political affairs is to be found

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in the names of the English queens. Mary, the wife of William III., is hardly to be counted, for though in name a queen regnant, her political influence was hardly more than that of a queen consort. But if we take the other four queens regnant, three of them, Elizabeth, Anne, and Victoria, occupy the highest position on the roll-call of sovereigns who have been successful in building up the strength and glory of England, developing her power and resources at home and abroad in frugal domestic administration, and in subordinating private desires and inclinations to political duties. It is not a little remarkable that nearly every country that admits the right of a woman to succeed to the crown has had female sovereigns in the highest rank as patriotic statesmen and skilful administrators. The names of Isabella of Castile and Maria Theresa will rise at once to every lip; and it is even more notable that in India, where the general position of women is so degraded, many native states have been governed by able and devoted female sovereigns.

If we may adopt the language of the class-room, the high percentage of first classes and the small percentage of failures among women who have reigned appear to indicate in a pretty decisive manner that women have at any rate no natural incapacity to grasp the import of political affairs. The feudal and monarchical systems, founded on the aristocracy of rank, made a place, albeit a narrow one, for women in politics; whereas democracy and republicanism, founded so far on the aristocracy of sex, have shut them out. There is no place for a woman in political life in France or the United States at all comparable with that occupied by Queen Victoria of England. The true development of democracy is hostile to the privileges of both aristocracies; and the time is surely coming when neither rank nor sex shall decide from birth whether an individual is to belong to the rulers or the ruled, the masters or the servants. "*La carrière ouverte aux talents*," whether the talents be the possession of men or women; "the tools to them who can use them," whether the hands be masculine or feminine: in sayings such as these we have the popular embodiment of the true spirit of liberty, and those so-called liberals who resist all efforts toward the social and political emancipation of women are levellers who wish only to level down to themselves; they are false to the very essence of liberalism; they are apostates to the spirit in which the creed of their party is founded, that liberty is good and governments can be securely and justly founded only on the consent of the governed. In the struggle against the aristocracy of sex, we have

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to fall back upon the examples afforded under the aristocracy of rank of the fitness of women for political responsibility. What is demanded by women now is, however, something very different from what was possessed by a few favored women then. We may compare the few women who, under the hereditary institution of this and other old countries, have occupied a high place in politics to the existence, under similar conditions in by-gone centuries, of a few women of very great learning and accomplishments while the mass of women could barely "write their names or so." The march of the democratic spirit has made, in the sphere of learning, what was once the privilege of the few the ordinary possession of the many; and in the same way political power, once reserved only for those women whose brows were weighted with the crown, is now claimed, and to some extent even enjoyed, by the women of the people.

Women in England have achieved some share of political power by doing political work. In proportion to the energy and the good spirit in which they do this work their power will grow. They have, of course, much to learn, and they are in process of learning how to work by working. Every political party in the United Kingdom has encouraged political organization among women. As long ago as 1879 Mr. Gladstone, speaking in Midlothian in anticipation of the general election of the following year, urged women to take an active part in electoral work. He addressed a meeting of women in the Foresters' Hall, Dalkeith, in November, 1879. In the course of his speech he said:

"When I look on the inscription which faces me in yonder gallery I see the words 'Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform.' All these words, ladies, are connected with the promotion of human happiness; and what some would call the desert of the world, and of the political world in particular, would be an arid desert indeed if we could not hope that our labors are addressed to the increase of human happiness. . . . Therefore I think that in appealing to you ungrudgingly to open your own feelings and bear your own part in a political crisis like this we are making no inappropriate demand, but are beseeching you to fulfil the duties which belong to you, which, so far from involving any departure from your character as women, are associated with the fulfilment of that character and the performance of those duties; the neglect of which would in future years be a source of pain and mortification, and the accomplishment of which would serve to gild your future years with sweet remembrances and to warrant you in hoping that each in your own place and sphere has raised your voice for justice, and has striven to mitigate the sorrows and misfortunes of mankind."

I shall have occasion presently to refer again to this characteristic utterance in order to contrast it with Mr. Gladstone's present attitude

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toward the claim of women to political emancipation. I here cite it at some length in order to show the character of the appeals that have been made to women by party leaders to take an active part in political warfare. At that time there were no party organizations among women in England. There were and are organizations for obtaining the suffrage and for mitigating or repealing laws injurious to women; but up to this time no political party had thought of enlisting women in their ranks. I believe I am correct in saying that the first political party to do this in the United Kingdom was the Irish Nationalists, who when Mr. Gladstone suppressed the Land League in 1881 carried on their business, if I may use the expression, under the name of the Ladies' Land League. The Land League was suppressed by Mr. Gladstone's government on October 18, 1881. The Ladies' Land League had been founded by Mr. Davitt in the previous February, and consequently provided an organization capable of carrying on the agitation during the imprisonment of Mr. Parnell and the other parliamentary leaders. Sums of money amounting to seventy thousand pounds (three hundred and fifty thousand dollars) passed through the hands of the Ladies' Land League in the eight months or thereabouts of its political activity. When Mr. Parnell came out of prison in 1882 the Ladies' Land League was dissolved, and Mr. Parnell undertook the discharge of its liabilities. I imagine that it will hardly be denied that the Ladies' Land League was very little more than a colorable evasion of the decree for the suppression of the original league. Several ladies, notably Mr. Parnell's sister, took an active part in it; but if it had had a genuine independent existence as a real women's organization, there seems no reason why its founders should have dissolved it as soon as the parliamentary leaders of the party were released from prison.

The next, and in my judgment the first, political organization of women was undertaken by the Conservatives. The famous Primrose League was founded in honor of the memory of Lord Beaconsfield by Sir Henry Drummond Wolf, Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Algernon Borthwick, Sir John First, and others in November, 1883. Its members are pledged to support the constitution, religion, and the empire. It was originally intended to admit men only, but the happy idea of enrolling "Dames" as well as "Knights" was soon adopted, and this organization has more than anything else set the example in England of political parties utilizing the political capacity and zeal of women. It is sometimes overlooked that the Primrose League is an associ-

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ation of men and women, and the "Knights" are fully as numerous as the "Dames," although to the activity of the "Dames" a very large proportion of the success of the organization is due. It is also a mistake to suppose it to be an aristocratic institution; it comprises members of all ranks of society; it makes a special effort to bring different classes into friendly social contact, and with that end in view promotes a mixture of musical and other kinds of entertainment in its meetings for political instruction. It gives special badges of honor for conspicuous services rendered by its members, and the first of these was conferred on a woman in the west of England, who earned her own living by her daily toil.

The Primrose League rapidly spread to every part of the United Kingdom; beginning humbly in small premises near the Strand, it grew "by leaps and bounds." At one time its membership increased at the prodigious rate of one thousand a day; it now has over a million members. It occupies palatial offices in Victoria Street, and has control through the subscriptions of its members of very considerable funds. Its birth was hailed with ridicule, sarcasm, and scorn; but from the members of the party which it supports it now receives the respect which every powerful political organization can command. Conservatives who once laughed at it have long since ceased to laugh and have sent in their applications for "Habitations" to be founded in their own counties or boroughs. Conservatives who did not laugh, even when the league was comparatively small, congratulate themselves on the success which has attended it from the outset. The leaders of the party now often select the annual grand festival of the Primrose League as the occasion for their most important political speeches and declarations of policy. This year it was at the annual gathering of the Primrose League that the Marquis of Salisbury made the speech containing the famous sentence: "Parliament has the right to govern Ulster, but has not the right to sell her into slavery." If the league has commanded the respect of its own party, not less has it taken substantial tribute from the opposite party, first in torrents of contempt and anger, and secondly in arduous imitation of many of its more important features.

The election of 1885 resulted far less prosperously for the Liberal party than had been anticipated, and much of the ill success of the Liberal candidates was attributed to the wiles of the Primrose Dames. Sir Henry James was so incensed at the success attending the political efforts of "four hundred thousand most active and influential can-

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vassers," that in a moment of expansion he threatened to bring in a bill on the subject, which could only have been effective if it had curtailed the right of English women to converse on political subjects with their neighbors; but it was pointed out at the time that a bill to require every voter to take an oath that he had never talked politics with a lady would be such a sweeping measure of disfranchisement that it would hardly have much chance of passing. Many charges of corruption, through gifts or threats, have been made against the Primrose Dames, but I believe that not one of them has ever been substantiated in a court of law or otherwise, although it would be a very good stroke of business from the point of view of the Liberal party to discredit the Primrose organization by bringing home any charges against its members. When challenged to do this the accusers invariably retreat into generalities, and say that their observations were not directed against any persons in particular. That this hesitation to substantiate vague charges is not due to generosity or chivalry of feeling may perhaps be assumed from the animosity with which the Dames "*en bloc*" are perpetually spoken of. One Liberal candidate, Sir Robert Peel, whom, however, I freely admit can hardly be regarded as a specimen of an English gentleman, wrote a letter in which he spoke of the ladies who had worked for his political opponent as "the filthy witches of the Primrose League." One feels that they must have worked with great efficiency or he would not have lost his temper so completely.

After abuse, the next tribute to success is imitation. The success of the Primrose League undoubtedly had a great deal to do with the formation of the Women's Liberal Federation under the presidency of Mrs. Gladstone in 1886. The Liberal Unionists were later in the field, the Women's Liberal Unionist organization not being founded till 1888. Neither of these organizations could probably have come into existence, or at any rate would not have received the support and countenance of men party leaders, but for the fact that the Conservative women were already organized by the Primrose League. The tone of many speakers at the opening meetings of both these associations was: "We should have preferred to keep you out of all political activity. Politics are not women's sphere, but as the leaders of the opposite party are encouraging women to work, we can't afford to do without you. It is a wrong thing for women to take part in politics, but we hope they will do so because it will be useful to our side." A more robust note was sounded by some speakers, but this

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was the tone of the old-fashioned party, Liberal and Liberal Unionist. It was not very inspiriting, and it is satisfactory to note that half a dozen years' experience of women's active work in politics has caused it to become very much a thing of the past.

We are no longer told that politics unsex women and are then invited to unsex ourselves in order to obtain ascendency for a particular political party. If it were true that politics unsex women, all the party triumphs in the world would not be worth the sacrifice. I have sometimes appealed to women themselves on this subject and begged them to be on their guard, and if they find after a day's canvassing or many hours of writing in a committee-room that they recoil from the domestic repose of their homes, or feel that they take no pleasure in the love of their children or husbands, immediately to abandon political work. If I may venture for a moment on the egotism of autobiography, I can say that my own experience on this point is reassuring. When I am on a political expedition which takes me away from home, I simply count the minutes, like a child at school, till I shall return again. I have put a restraint on myself to conceal from my kind entertainers how desperately glad I am when my face is set homeward.

The experience of political agents and managers appears to be extremely favorable to the real value of the work that women can do at an election. In canvassing women are admitted on all hands to be very efficient; in tracing out voters their work in many constituencies at the last election was invaluable; while ladies who could speak on platforms were simply overwhelmed with invitations to do so. While I am on the subject of "unsexing" I may mention that the masculine woman, with a rasping voice and stuck-up collar and the nearest approach to male attire that convention admits, is not the woman who is run after by the election agent. His experience leads him infinitely to prefer the distinctively womanly woman; in looks, dress, and manners she must be a woman to her finger-tips. I overheard a working woman say of her mistress: "She! She ain't a woman—let alone a lady." This unsexed person, by the way, had very inspiring manners and was most correctly dressed in woman's clothes. It was her inside, not her outside, her heart, not her collar, that was wrong. But that sort of woman is not the sort of woman that is wanted in political work. Quick sympathy and tact, the power of gaining confidence and good-will, not intruding at a time when a visit may be troublesome, saying the right thing at the right moment, abstaining from

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saying it at the wrong one—these are some of the qualities of the ideal canvasser, and it is here that the training and habits of the womanly woman are so useful.

During the election of June and July, 1892, more work was done by women of every party than ever had been done before in a political contest. They were stimulated to this activity by the great interest excited by the question of the relation of Ireland to Great Britain, and also by the stirring appeals addressed to women by all the principal party leaders: the Duke of Argyle, the Duke of Devonshire, and Mr. Chamberlain among the Liberal Unionists, Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour among the Conservatives. Mr. Gladstone as leader of his own party gave every encouragement to political activity among women. The humbler organizers of the various parties were not slow to acknowledge in generous terms the value of women's political work. One lady reports to the Liberal Unionist Association: "Every man in my husband's committee acknowledged in the most frank and kindly way that the majority (more than the two hundred or three hundred that they had expected) was due to the efforts of the Ladies' Committee. 'You ladies are worth five hundred votes to us,' said one worker to me." In another constituency the agent of the successful candidate wrote after the election was over: "I thank the Ladies' Committee especially for their successful work, especially with the voters whose canvassing cards had been returned *doubtful* after the first canvass." In Cambridge one member of the Ladies' Committee did especially good work in persuading members of the University, who had votes for the borough, to give up part of their vacation in order to vote. In a seaside constituency a lady who had proved her friendly interest in seafaring men and boys by hundreds of actions of disinterested kindness when no election was in the air was a very effective canvasser. "Would you put to sea in a storm with a coxswain of thirty-three, no matter how good a seaman he had been in his time?" was one of her questions.

In the speeches made by the successful candidates and their friends at the declaration of the poll frequent acknowledgment was made of the very substantial degree in which the result was due to the zealous work of ladies. This was done among other places at Newcastle by Mr. John Morley and his friends on his re-election after taking office in August, 1892. The secretary of the Women's Liberal Federation writes to me that a large number of letters have been received by her from candidates, members, and agents acknowledging the great

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assistance rendered by women workers. She also says: "Where there was no Women's Liberal Association the want was felt at the election; and many appeals have since been received that they may be started and so be in readiness for another election." The Vice-Chancellor of the Primrose League writes that "the elections of 1886 and 1892 clearly prove that women when properly instructed are able to give more useful service than men in tracing voters and finding out their opinions, and also in bringing men to the polls." He also dwells on the obvious economy of employing unpaid women rather than paid men to address circulars and so forth. That women are prepared to work for zeal rather than for money naturally endears them to the economical soul of the party organizers. "Numbers of candidates," he continues, "have realized that women make far better canvassers (in the legitimate sense of that word) than men. We had many instances of practical work done by ladies which proved that they surpass men in real self-sacrificing devotion to any cause they take up." He then proceeds to give examples. One is that of a lady who at a few minutes' notice, hearing that all other available speakers in a constituency where she was well known were engaged, hurriedly put a few things in a bag and went herself on a journey of several hours to speak and work among the voters. "The Unionist party won that election only by a few votes, and owe those votes perhaps to the energy and devotion of this lady." In another case a lady whose brother was lending eight carriages to take voters to the polls in a certain constituency went down to the stables to see them come out. Seven carriages came out, and she was told there was no coachman for the eighth. She immediately mounted the box and took the reins and drove about the constituency all day long, taking voters to the poll.

Real honest self-sacrificing work is being done in all parties by women, and with the work necessarily comes the power. If a woman's canvass is felt to be worth one hundred or five hundred votes, women can claim and no doubt will exercise a considerable influence on the candidate for whom they work. This was exemplified last April in the debate and decision on women's suffrage. A measure to confer the particular suffrage on women who have already received in Great Britain all the various local suffrages was brought forward by Sir Albert Rollit in the last session of the Parliament just expired. For several years the Liberal caucus and the Liberal wire-pullers have been literally antagonistic to women receiving the parliamentary suffrage. In anticipation of the division on Sir Albert Rollit's bill a

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very strenuous effort was made to insure a crushing defeat for it. Extraordinary efforts were made against the bill, especially on the Liberal side of the House. Mr. Gladstone was induced to write a letter denouncing it. Whereas he had said in 1879 that for women to take part in electoral work was only a fulfilment of their duty to their character as women and "*would gild their future years with sweet remembrances*," he now said that he feared if women went quietly to a polling-place and dropped a ballot-paper into a box it would be inviting them to "trespass upon their delicacy, their purity, their refinement, their elevation of their own nature." The whip that was issued against women's suffrage was signed by Liberals who had repeatedly supported it by vote and speech, and in one instance by a gentleman (Sir E. J. Reed, member for Cardiff) who is a member of the general committee of a women's suffrage society.

But notwithstanding these remarkable tactics, the bulk of the Liberal party either remained true to the promises they had given to support women's suffrage or absented themselves from the division. The reason for this astonishing degree of fidelity, in face of the party pressure that was brought to bear on them, is, I believe, to be found in the stalwart attitude of the Women's Liberal Federation led by Lady Carlisle, Mrs. Phillips, and Mrs. McLester. The branches of the Federation poured in petitions to their members in favor of women's suffrage. The general election was near; all the candidates were hoping to secure zealous support from women, and they stood to their guns in surprising numbers in defiance of their leader and his *aides-de-camp*. During his debate Mr. Balfour, who supported the bill, pointed out the obvious inconsistency of encouraging women to do political work while maintaining that political work degraded women. He said: "We have been told that to encourage women to take an active part in politics is degrading to the sex. I should think myself grossly inconsistent and most ungrateful if I supported that agreement in this House, for I have myself taken the chair at Primrose League meetings and urged to the best of my ability the women of this country to take a share in politics. After that to come down to the House and say I have asked these women to do that which degrades them appears to me to be absurd. I understand there are other associations of the kind of which women are members, and I have heard of a Liberal Unionist Women's Association. There is also, I think, a Women's Liberal Federation. I dare say the learned member for Fife [Mr. Asquith, the present Home Secretary, who had

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spoken against the bill] has taken part in its meetings." Mr. Asquith replied: "Never." It turned out that Mr. Asquith's exclamation was due to a lapse of memory—that he had taken part in a Women's Liberal Federation meeting in Kensington a few years before. Mr. Balfour's argument went home. To use the services of women in politics whenever they can profit by them, and to maintain at the same time that a share in the responsibility of framing the policy of the empire would be degrading to women, fully deserves the epithet, "cant," which Mr. Balfour bestowed upon it.

It is really certain that the members of the Liberal party who are most strenuously opposed to women's suffrage are beginning to see that their position is undermined by the political service which women are rendering to them. Their instinct is to try to curtail these services, at least the most publicly noticeable of them. And here I would like to point out a further inconsistency on the part of the Liberal party on the subject of women's suffrage. The public manifesto for the press and the platform speaks with one voice, the private circular with another. Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet against women's suffrage, published in April, urged in its opening paragraphs that the subject had not been sufficiently discussed. (It had been before the public as a Parliament subject for only twenty-five years.) "Cannot its promoters be content," wrote Mr. Gladstone, "with that continuance and extension of discussion which alone can adequately sift the true merits of their cause?" He then added that he made the suggestion in face of this coming general election, and said: "I doubt not . . . that the occasion might be made available for procuring an increase of attention to the subject, which I join with them [the advocates of women's suffrage] in earnestly desiring."

While the leader of the party was speaking this to the public, the agents and wire-pullers of the same party were privately giving very different advice. Instead of promoting discussion of women's suffrage they were exerting themselves to stifle it. Mr. Gladstone's letter advising increased discussion of the subject at the general election was dated April 11, 1892. On the 21st of April of the same year a circular marked "private and confidential" was issued from the head office of the Liberal party and sent to all Liberal candidates in the home counties. This circular advised the candidates not to allow ladies who were members of the Women's Liberal Federation to appear as speakers on the platform, on the ground that they might take advantage of such opportunities to advocate female suffrage. The

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circular was signed by Mr. L. V. Harcourt (son of Sir William Harcourt, now Mr. Gladstone's Chancellor of the Exchequer) and by Mr. W. Allard. Tactics of this kind are certain to recoil on the heads of those who use them. They have already disgusted many men and women with the so-called "liberalism" of the Liberal leaders. Incidents like this are, however, ripples on the surface; they have no influence in disturbing the flow of the stream, which is set steadily in the direction of encouraging the political activity of women, and this in no trifling and *dilettante* fashion, but by means of serious and energetic work.

I have sometimes compared the encouragement now given women by all parties to undertake political work to that crisis in the struggle between the Northern and Southern States in America, when both sides armed their Negroes. When this was done, those who were looking on saw perhaps even more plainly than those engaged in the conflict that the death-blow of slavery had been struck. The women of England have had political arms put in their hands and are eagerly urged by the great political parties to use them. They are using them; and they will use them, not merely to promote the triumph of this or that party, but to secure their own emancipation.

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

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DIALECT IN LITERATURE.

"And the common people heard him gladly."

Of what shall be said herein of dialect, let it be understood the term dialect referred to is of that general breadth of meaning given it to-day, namely, any speech or vernacular outside the prescribed form of good English in its present state. The present state of the English is, of course, not any one of its prior states. So first let it be remarked that it is highly probable that what may have been the best of English once may now by some be counted as a weak, inconsequent *patois*, or dialect.

To be direct, it is the object of this article to show that dialect is not a thing to be despised in any event—that its origin is oftentimes of as royal caste as that of any speech. Listening back, from the standpoint of to-day, even to the divine singing of that old classic master to whom England's late Laureate refers as

> "The first warbler, whose sweet breath
> Preluded those melodious bursts that fill
> The spacious times of great Elizabeth
> With sounds that echo still";

or to whom Longfellow alludes, in his matchless sonnet, as

> "The poet of the dawn, who wrote
> The Canterbury Tales, and his old age
> Made beautiful with song."

Chaucer's verse to us is *now* as veritably dialect as to that old time it *was* the chastest English; and even then his materials were essentially dialect when his song was at best pitch. Again, our present dialect, of most plebeian ancestry, may none the less prove worthy. Mark the recognition of its own personal merit in the great new dictionary, where what was, in our own remembrance, the most outlandish dialect, is now good, sound, official English.

Since Literature must embrace all naturally existing materials—physical, mental, and spiritual—we have no occasion to urge its ac-

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ceptance of so-called dialect, for dialect is in Literature, and has been there since the beginning of all written thought and utterance. Strictly speaking, as well as paradoxically, all verbal expression is more or less dialectic however grammatical. While usage establishes grammar, it no less establishes so-called dialect. Therefore we may as rightfully refer to "so-called grammar."

It is not really a question of Literature's position toward dialect that we are called upon to consider, but rather how much of Literature's valuable time shall be taken up by this dialectic country cousin. This question Literature her gracious self most amiably answers by hugging to her breast voluminous tomes, from Chaucer on to Dickens, from Dickens on to Joel Chandler Harris. And this affectionate spirit on the part of Literature, in the main, we all most feelingly indorse.

Briefly summed, it would appear that dialect means something more than mere rude form of speech and action—that it must, in some righteous and substantial way, convey to us a positive force of soul, truth, dignity, beauty, grace, purity, and sweetness, that may even touch us to the tenderness of tears. Yes, dialect as certainly does all this as that speech and act refined may do it, and for the same reason: it is simply, purely natural and human.

Yet the Lettered and the Unlettered powers are at swords' points, and very old and bitter foemen, too, they are. As fairly as we can, then, let us look over the field of these contesting forces and note their diverse positions: First, the Lettered—they who have the full advantages of refined education, training, and association—are undoubtedly as wholly out of order among the Unlettered as the Unlettered are out of order in the exalted presence of the Lettered. Each faction may in like aversion ignore or snub the other; but a long-suffering Providence must bear with the society of both. There may be one vague virtue demonstrated by this feud: each division will be found unwaveringly loyal to its kind, and mutually they desire no interchange of sympathy whatever. Neither element will accept from the other any patronizing treatment; and, perhaps, the more especially does the Unlettered faction reject anything in vaguest likeness of this spirit. Of the two divisions, in graphic summary, one knows the very core and centre of refined civilization, and this only; the other knows the outlying wilds and suburbs of civilization, and this only. Whose therefore is the greater knowledge, and whose the just right of any whit of self-glorification?

A curious thing, indeed, is this factional pride, as made equally

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manifest in both forces; in one, for instance, of the Unlettered forces. The average farmer, or countryman, knows, in reality, a far better and wider range of diction than he permits himself to use. He restricts and abridges the vocabulary of his speech, fundamentally for the reason that he fears offending his rural neighbors, to whom a choicer speech might suggest, on his part, an assumption—a spirit of conscious superiority, and thereby an implied reflection on their lack of intelligence and general worthiness. If there is any one text universally known and nurtured of the Unlettered masses of our common country, it is that which reads, "All men are created equal." Therefore it is a becoming thing when true gentility prefers to overlook some variations of the class, who, more from lack of cultivation than out of rude intent, sometimes almost compel a positive doubt of the nice veracity of the declaration, or at least a grief at the munificent liberality of the so-bequoted statement. The somewhat bewildering position of these conflicting forces leaves us nothing further to consider, but how to make the most and best of the situation so far as Literature may be hurt or helped thereby.

Equally with the perfect English, then, dialect should have full justice done it. Then always it is worthy, and in Literature is thus welcome. The writer of dialect should as reverently venture in its use as in his chastest English. His effort in the scholarly and elegant direction suffers no neglect—he is schooled in that, perhaps he may explain. Then let him be schooled in dialect before he sets up as an expounder of it—a teacher, forsooth a master! The real master must not only know each varying light and shade of dialect expression, but he must as minutely know the inner character of the people whose native tongue it is, else his product is simply a pretence—a wilful forgery, a rank abomination. Dialect has been and is thus insulted, vilified, and degraded now and continually; and through this outrage solely thousands of generous-minded readers have been turned against dialect who otherwise would have loved and blessed it in its real form of crude purity and unstrained sweetness—

"Honey dripping from the comb!"

Let no impious faddist, then, assume its just interpretation. He may know everything else in the world, but not dialect, nor dialectic people, for both of which he has supreme contempt, which same, be sure, is heartily returned. Such a "superior" personage may even go among these simple country people and abide indefinitely in the midst

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of them, yet their more righteous contempt never for one instant permits them to be their real selves in his presence. In consequence, his most conscientious report of them, their ways, lives, and interests, is absolutely of no importance or value in the world. He never knew them, nor will he ever know them. They are not his kind of people, any more than he is their kind of man; and their disappointment grieves us more than his.

The master in Literature, as in any Art, is that "divinely gifted man" who does just obeisance to all living creatures, "both man and beast and bird." It is this master only who, as he writes, can sweep himself aside and leave his humble characters to do the thinking and the talking. This man it is who celebrates his performance—not himself. His work he celebrates because it is not his only, but because he feels it the conscientious reproduction of the life itself—as he has seen and known and felt it—a representation it is of God's own script, translated and transcribed by the worshipful mind and heart and hand of genius. This virtue in all art is impartially demanded, and genius only can fully answer the demand in any art for which we claim perfection. The painter has his expression of it, with no slighting of the dialectic element; so, too, the sculptor, the musician, and the list entire. In the line of Literature and literary material, an illustration of the nice meaning and distinction of dialectic art will be found in Charles Dudley Warner's comment of George Cable's work, as far back as 1883, referring to the author's own rendition of it from the platform. Mr. Warner says:

"While the author was unfolding to his audience a life and society unfamiliar to them and entrancing them with pictures, the reality of which none doubted and the spell of which none cared to escape, it occurred to me that here was the solution of all the pother we have recently got into about the realistic and the ideal schools in fiction. In 'Posson Jone,' an awkward camp-meeting country preacher is the victim of a vulgar confidence game; the scenes are the street, a drinking-place, a gambling-saloon, a bull-ring, and a calaboose; there is not a 'respectable' character in it. Where shall we look for a more faithful picture of low life? Where shall we find another so vividly set forth in all its sordid details? And yet see how art steps in, with the wand of genius, to make literature! Over the whole the author has cast an ideal light; over a picture that, in the hands of a bungling realist, would have been repellent he has thrown the idealizing grace that makes it one of the most charming sketches in the world. Here is nature, as nature only ought to be in literature, elevated but never departed from."

So we find dialect, as a branch of Literature, worthy of the high attention and employment of the greatest master in letters—not the merest mountebank. Turn to Dickens, in innumerable passages of

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pathos: the death of poor Jo, or that of the "Cheap John's" little daughter in her father's arms, on the footboard of his peddling-cart before the jeering of the vulgar mob; smile moistly, too, at Mr. Slearly's odd philosophies; or at the trials of Sissy Jupe; or lift and tower with indignation, giving ear to Stephen Blackpool and the stainless nobility of his cloyed utterances.

The crudeness or the homeliness of the dialectic element does not argue its unfitness any way. Some readers seem to think so; but they are wrong, and very gravely wrong. Our own brief history as a nation, and our finding and founding and maintaining of it, left our forefathers little time indeed for the delicate cultivation of the arts and graces of refined and scholarly attainments. And there is little wonder, and great blamelessness on their part, if they lapsed in point of high mental accomplishments, seeing their attention was so absorbed by propositions looking toward the protection of their rude farm-homes, their meagre harvests, and their half-stabled cattle from the dread invasion of the Indian. Then, too, they had their mothers and their wives and little ones to protect, to clothe, to feed, and to die for, in this awful line of duty, as hundreds upon hundreds did. These sad facts are here accented and detailed not so much for the sake of being tedious as to more clearly indicate why it was that many of the truly heroic ancestry of "our best people" grew unquestionably dialect of caste—not alone in speech, but in every mental trait and personal address. It is a grievous fact for us to confront, but many of them wore apparel of the commonest, talked loudly, and doubtless said "thisaway" and "thataway," and "Whatchy' doin' of?" and "Whur y' goin' at?"—using dialect even in their prayers to Him who, in His gentle mercy, listened and was pleased; and who listens verily unto this hour to all like prayers, yet pleased; yea, haply listens even to the refined rhetorical petitions of those who are not pleased.

There is something more at fault than the language when we turn from or flinch at it; and, as has been intimated, the wretched fault may be skulkingly hidden away in the ambush of ostensible dialect—that type of dialect so copiously produced by its sole manufacturers, who, utterly stark and bare of any vaguest idea of country life or country people, at once assume that all their "gifted pens" have to do is to stupidly misspell every word; vulgarly mistreat and besloven every theme, however sacred; maim, cripple, and disfigure language never in the vocabulary of the countryman—then smuggle these monstrosities of either rhyme or prose somehow into the public print that

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is to innocently smear them broadcast all over the face of the country they insult.

How different the mind and method of the true interpreter. As this phrase goes down the man himself arises—the type perfect—Col. Richard Malcolm Johnston, who wrote "The Dukesborough Tales"—an accomplished classic scholar and teacher, yet no less an accomplished master and lover of his native dialect of middle Georgia. He, like Dickens, permits his rustic characters to think, talk, act and live, just as nature designed them. He does not make the pitiable error of either patronizing or making fun of them. He knows them and he loves them; and they know and love him in return. Recalling Colonel Johnston's dialectic sketches, with his own presentation of them from the platform, the writer notes a fact that seems singularly to obtain among all true dialect writers, namely, that they are also endowed with native histrionic capabilities. Hear, as well as read, Twain, Cable, Johnston, Page, Smith, and all the list, with barely an exception.

Did space permit, no better illustration of true dialect sketch and characterization might here be offered than Colonel Johnston's simple story of "Mr. Absalom Billingslea," or the short and simple annals of his like quaint contemporaries, "Mr. Bill Williams" and "Mr. Jonas Lively." The scene is the country and the very little country town, with landscape, atmosphere, simplicity, circumstance—all surroundings and conditions—veritable—everything rural and dialectic, no less than the simple, primitive, common, wholesome-hearted men and women who so naturally live and have their blessed being in his stories, just as in the life itself. This is the manifest work of the true dialect writer and expounder. In every detail, the most minute, such work reveals the master-hand and heart of the humanitarian as well as artist—the two are indissolubly fused—and the result of such just treatment of whatever lowly themes or characters we can but love and loyally approve with all our human hearts. Such masters necessarily are rare, and such ripe perfecting as is here attained may be in part the mellowing result of age and long observation, though it can but be based upon the wisest, purest spirit of the man as well as artist.

In no less excellence should the work of Joel Chandler Harris be regarded: His touch alike is ever reverential. He has gathered up the bruised and broken voices and the legends of the slave, and from his child-heart he has affectionately yielded them to us in all their eerie beauty and wild loveliness. Through them we are made to glorify the helpless and the weak and to revel in their victories.

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But, better, we are taught that even in barbaric breasts there dwells inherently the sense of right above wrong—equity above law—and the One Unerring Righteousness Eternal. With equal truth and strength, too, Mr. Harris has treated the dialectic elements of the interior Georgia country—the wilds and fastnesses of the "Moonshiners." His tale of "Teague Poteet," of some years ago, was contemporaneous with the list of striking mountain stories from that strong and highly gifted Tennesseean, Miss Murfree, or "Charles Egbert Craddock." In the dialectic spirit her stories charm and hold us. Always there is strangely mingled, but most naturally, the gentle nature cropping out amid the most desperate and stoical: the night scene in the isolated mountain cabin, guarded ever without and within from any chance down-swooping of the minions of the red-eyed law; the great man-group of gentle giants, with rifles never out of arm's-reach, in tender rivalry ranged admiringly around the crowing, wakeful little boy-baby; the return, at last, of the belated mistress of the house—the sister, to whom all do great, awkward reverence. Jealously snatching up the babe and kissing it, she querulously demands why he has not long ago been put to bed. "He 'lowed he wouldn't go," is the reply. Thomas Nelson Page, of Virginia, who wrote "Meh Lady"—a positive classic in the Negro dialect: his work is veritable—strong and pure and sweet; and as an oral reader of it the doubly gifted author, in voice and cadence, natural utterance, every possible effect of speech and tone, is doubtless without rival anywhere.

Many more, indeed, than may be mentioned now there are of these real benefactors and preservers of the wayside characters, times, and customs of our ever-shifting history. Needless is it to speak here of the earlier of our workers in the dialectic line—of James Russell Lowell's New England "Hosea Bigelow," Dr. Eggleston's "Hoosier School-Master," or the very rare and quaint, bright prattle of "Helen's Babies." In connection with this last let us very seriously inquire what this real child has done that Literature should so persistently refuse to give him an abiding welcome? Since for ages this question seems to have been left unasked, it may be timely now to propound it. Why not the real child in Literature? The real child is good enough (we all know he is bad enough) to command our admiring attention and most lively interest in real life, and just as we find him "in the raw." Then why do we deny him any righteous place of recognition in our Literature? From the immemorial advent of our dear old Mother Goose, Literature has been especially catering to the juvenile

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needs and desires, and yet steadfastly overlooking, all the time, the very principles upon which Nature herself founds and presents this lawless little brood of hers—the children. It is not the children who are out of order; it is Literature. And not only is Literature out of order, but she is presumptuous; she is impudent. She takes Nature's children and revises and corrects them till "their own mother doesn't know them." This is literal fact. So, very many of us are coming to inquire, as we've a right, why is the real child excluded from a just hearing in the world of letters as he has in the world of fact? For instance, what has the lovely little ragamuffin ever done of sufficient guilt to eternally consign him to the monstrous penalty of speaking most accurate grammar all the literary hours of the days of the years of his otherwise natural life?

"Oh, mother, may I go to school
With brother Charles to-day?
The air is very fine and cool;
Oh, mother, say I may!"

Is this a real boy that would make such a request, and is it the real language he would use? No, we are glad to say that it is not. Simply it is a libel, in every particular, on any boy, however fondly and exactingly trained by parents however zealous for his over-decorous future. Better, indeed, the dubious sentiment of the most trivial nursery jingle, since the latter at least maintains the lawless though wholesome spirit of the child-genuine.

"Hinx! Minx! The old witch winks—
The fat begins to fry;
There's nobody home but Jumping Joan,
Father and mother and I!"

Though even here the impious poet leaves the scar of grammatical knowledge upon childhood's native diction; and so the helpless little fellow is again misrepresented, and his character, to all intents and purposes, is assaulted and maligned outrageously thereby.

Now, in all seriousness, this situation ought not to be permitted to exist, though to change it seems an almost insurmountable task. The general public, very probably, is not aware of the real gravity of the position of the case as even unto this day it exists. Let the public try, then, to contribute the real child to the so-called Child Literature of its country, and have its real child returned, as promptly as it dare show its little tousled head in the presence of that scholarly and dig-

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nified institution. Then ask why your real child has been spanked back home again, and the wise mentors there will virtually tell you that Child Literature wants no real children in it, that the real child's example of defective grammar and lack of elegant deportment would furnish to its little patrician patrons suggestions very hurtful indeed to their higher morals, tendencies, and ambitions. Then, although the general public couldn't for the life of it see why or how, and might even be reminded that it was just such a rowdying child itself, and that its father—the Father of his Country—was just such a child, that Abraham Lincoln was just such a lovable, lawless child, and yet was blessed and chosen in the end for the highest service man may ever render unto man—all—all this argument would avail not in the least, since the elegantly minded purveyors of Child Literature cannot possibly tolerate the presence of any but the refined children—the very proper children—the studiously thoughtful, poetic children—and these must be kept safe from the contaminating touch of our rough-and-tumble little fellows in "hodden gray," with frowzly heads, begrimed but laughing faces, and such awful, awful vulgarities of naturalness, and crimes of simplicity, and brazen faith and trust, and love of life and everybody in it. All other real people are getting into Literature; and without some real children along will they not soon be getting lonesome, too?

JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY.

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HOW SHOULD A CITY CARE FOR ITS POOR?[1]

HAVE we in the American cities any clear principles of poor-relief? We have very large appropriations, great devotion on the part of many citizens, and in many departments of charity expert knowledge and experience quite as trustworthy as any in the world; but certainly we have no generally accepted doctrine as to the proper nature of a thoroughly guarded and sufficient municipal system. On the one hand, we have inherited many of the traditions of the English Poor-Law. We have in many cities a complete and often admirable series of city institutions, and we are inclined to leave city charity to this official care. We, like the English, distrust "out-door" relief; we apply the "poor-house test." If a person is not willing to go to a city institution, then, we argue, he is probably not poor enough to need city help. By this self-acting test we defend the community from the pauper, and the great body of our citizens seem to themselves to fulfil their duty to the poor by tolerating heavy taxation for expensive city institutions. On the other hand, and as if confessing the inadequacy of institutional and mechanical tests, we have introduced in many cities quite another plan—more personal, sympathetic, individualized. This is the plan of our Associated-Charities System. It reproduces some of the features of the so-called Elberfeld scheme, devised in that town in 1853 and now accepted in Germany as the only scientific type of municipal charity.

Between these two systems of poor-relief, however, there is a great

[1] PRESENT-DAY PAPERS

CONTRIBUTED BY THE SOCIOLOGICAL GROUP.

CHARLES W. SHIELDS.	SETH LOW.	FRANCIS G. PEABODY.
HENRY C. POTTER.	RICHARD T. ELY.	WILLIAM F. SLOCUM, JR.
THEODORE T. MUNGER.	HUGH MILLER THOMPSON.	EDWARD J. PHELPS.
WM. CHAUNCY LANGDON.	CHARLES A. BRIGGS.	WILLIAM M. SLOANE.
SAMUEL W. DIKE.	WASHINGTON GLADDEN.	CHAS. DUDLEY WARNER.

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gulf fixed. They start from opposite points of view and proceed on opposite principles. The English test of poverty is the willingness of the pauper to go to the poor-house; the German test is that of personal and continual investigation in each case. The English plan, roughly speaking, is for the town to do as little for the poor outside of its institutions as is safe for the community; the German plan is to do as much as is safe. English citizens are accustomed to let the Poor-Law run itself; German citizens are trained to be its agents. Thus the one plan, completely carried out, would be wholly official and mechanical; the other would be wholly personal and human. The one is defensive of the community; the other is educative of the community. The one opposes out-door relief; the other consists almost wholly of out-door relief. The one frees citizens at large from obligation to the poor, except through taxation; the other calls on citizens at large to serve the poor as a part of their duty to society. We stand, for the present, between these two principles. On the one hand, the official work of our cities is done for the most part under the English tradition; on the other hand, our private charity is guided more and more by the Elberfeld model. Which way are we likely to move? Which tradition is likely to prevail? That is the question I wish to raise.

The English theory of the defensive test seems to be, on the whole, gaining ground among us. Certainly it is much the easier to follow and enforce. Under some conditions it is probably the only practicable system. There are, indeed, at this moment few towns in America where the great mass of respectable citizens have any notion of such a relation to charity as the German plan demands. Yet, on the other hand, the German theory, wherever it is practicable, is, I think, demonstrably a better theory—better for the poor and better for the rich. It is more consistent with right-minded citizenship, not to say with Christian feeling. It has had of late in Germany very general extension and in many places a degree of success quite unknown under the English Poor-Law. Some of its features are familiar to us, but its most important characteristic has not yet been realized in any American town. I hope, therefore, that it may contribute a little to the question of poor-relief in America if I describe as precisely as I can the way in which a German city deals with its poor, and consider the possible application of such a plan to the case of an American city.

The Elberfeld System is now practically working in at least thirty-

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six German towns, including most of the principal cities of the country (Elberfeld, 1853; Barmen, 1862; Bremen, 1878; Königsberg, 1878; Dresden, 1880; Leipzig, 1881; Frankfurt, 1883; Berlin, with some variations in plan, 1884; Stuttgart, 1886; Hamburg, 1891), and varying in population from Berlin with 1,579,244 inhabitants in 1890 to Ruhrort with 11,099. Ten of the thirty-two towns whose reports I have examined had in 1885 more than one hundred thousand inhabitants; four had between one hundred thousand and fifty thousand; thirteen between fifty thousand and twenty thousand; and seven less than twenty thousand. Thus the system, if not equally applicable in theory to large and small places, is at least practically accepted in Germany as the only way in which any town, large or small, can hope to deal thoroughly with its question of poor-relief.

In this great diversity of population and social conditions many differences occur, and a complete picture of the German system becomes extremely difficult to make. I select, therefore, for description the case of a single city, of moderate size, perhaps the best administered of the list, and resorted to in the year 1890 by experts in poor-relief from half a dozen different countries as a model for their study. It is also instructive as being at the centre of one of the most populous as well as one of the poorest regions of Europe. If the whole population of Saxony be divided into four classes, according to income, we have in 1890, according to Dr. Böhmert, the head of the Saxon Bureau of Statistics, the following almost incredible result:

1.	Income less than	$200	76.33 per cent
2.	" between	200 and $825	20.94 "
3.	" "	825 and 2,400	2.24 "
4.	" more than	2,400	.49 "

Ninety-six per cent of the inhabitants of Saxony, that is to say, live on less than eight hundred and twenty-five dollars a year; and, it should be added, are on the whole among the most cheerful, light-hearted, and healthy people in Germany. The burden of taxation falls on the small minority who may be called prosperous; classes 1 and 2, ninety-six per cent, paying thirty-eight per cent of the taxes, and classes 3 and 4, four per cent, paying sixty-one per cent. I have already described the general local government of the capital city of this region, and I venture to refer to that sketch as introductory to the present paper.[1]

[1] The FORUM, March, 1892: "A Case of Good City Government."

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Dresden in 1825 was a city of but fifty thousand inhabitants; in 1834 there were sixty-six thousand; in 1867 one hundred and fifty-six thousand; and in 1880 two hundred and twenty thousand eight hundred and eighteen. This rapid growth brought with it a large increase of poverty, and the poor-relief of Dresden was at the time so loosely administered that vagrants flocked from all Germany to share in the Saxon hospitality. In 1867 there were ten hundred and seventy receivers of direct alms from the city; in 1877 there were fifteen hundred and eighty-three; in 1867 the city spent in almsgiving sixteen thousand dollars; in 1877 thirty-eight thousand dollars; in 1867 each pauper thus assisted received fifteen dollars; in 1877 twenty-three dollars. A serious overhauling of the method of the poor-relief became necessary.

The general law regulating residence was of the Empire and was applicable to all German cities; the Kingdom of Saxony had its own Poor-Law (*Armenordnung*, October 22, 1840) and its law for the government of cities (*Revidierte Städteordnung*). In accordance with this general legislation the new local poor-law for Dresden on the Elberfeld plan was passed September 23, 1879, received the consent of the Minister of the Interior and went into effect April 1, 1880. Under this law the poor-relief of the city is primarily administered, not, as with us, by a board of Overseers of the Poor, elected for short terms, but by a single salaried official, who has a seat and vote in the Board of Aldermen and who is elected for a term of three years, with the practical assurance of re-election and of a life-career in office if his work is well done. This superintendent of poor-relief is thus a trained expert with a professional ambition. He is elected to be Alderman in a city like Dresden because he has had experience and success in the city government of some smaller town; he is chosen with a view to his service in the special department of poor-relief, and on his retirement after long and successful service he receives a pension.

While, however, this superintendent practically administers the city charity, there is joined with him a central committee representing the various interests involved. This committee is made up of fifteen members, as follows: the salaried Alderman above described as chairman, three members of the Board of Aldermen serving without pay and presumably serving for long terms, four members of the City Council elected for three years, but as a rule re-elected, and seven other citizens elected for three years. Thus while the expert knowl-

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edge of the chairman has great weight in decisions, it is sometimes more than balanced by the votes of persons elected directly by the people for reasonably short terms. The committee thus composed represent our Overseers of the Poor, radically differing from that body, however, by having the expert superintendent at their head instead of at their feet. With us, the real administrator of a city department—superintendent of schools, or streets, or charity—is an employee, likely to be discharged for political reasons and subject to various higher boards of a temporary nature. In Germany such responsible administrators are elected, as bank-presidents or railway-presidents are with us, to permanent places and real leadership; and committees like the Overseers of the Poor are a board of directors for conference and counsel, with their president at their head. Under the direction of this central committee, thus constituted, comes the part of the Elberfeld System which has now become familiar in America through our associated-charity work—the enrollment of a large body of unpaid visitors, each limiting his service to a few cases and reporting to what we should call a "ward-conference," which in its turn refers important questions back to the central board.

So far as concerns this part of the system, only two points of difference are to be here observed between the German and the American plans. First, it is noticeable that while in America the great proportion of such visitors are women, in Germany they are exclusively men, the Germans being as yet far from the American view of capacity of women for administration or even for discretion. Certainly in this point we have no lesson to learn of foreigners, and it seems strange to us that a system of the kind can have had any success where charity-visiting has seemed an unfeminine vocation. The second point of difference is more instructive. Cases of need in a German town are assigned, not, as with us, by the selecting of visitors, but by the districting of the town. Each city is ruled off into a large number of very small squares, and for the condition of each such square a single visitor, usually a resident in the near neighborhood, is responsible. If his little block comes to contain more cases of poverty than the number assigned as his limit (five in Dresden, four in Elberfeld), then it is divided and a new visitor enlisted. Thus in the year 1890 Dresden was districted into four hundred and thirty-eight such little squares, each regulated by a poor-relief visitor. This division by space instead of by case is, it must be admitted, much more natural in a German city where, by the custom of the country, the poor

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are scattered through the whole town and live for the most part in the cellars and attics of large houses. In every district of Dresden there are some persons of reasonable prosperity and some cases of poverty. There is, fortunately for the town, no region entirely occupied by the very rich, and there is no quarter which can be occupied with what we call city slums.

The system by space, though much harder to administer in America, is, however, the only thorough system. Cases may be ever so freely assigned, and yet other cases, just as needy, may be left uncared for in the same street. The only positive and aggressive way to patrol a whole city is to make a certain sentinel responsible for all that lies within a certain beat, and to make the beat so small that he can easily cover the whole of it. This second point of difference is as much to the advantage of Germany as the first is to her disadvantage. These scattered visitors, each supervising his little square, are, first of all, united in small "ward-conferences" (*Pflegevereinen*). Of these there are forty-three in Dresden, numbering from six to fourteen members each and meeting once a fortnight. The chairman of each conference is the intermediary between it and the central committee, and the forty-three conference representatives are from time to time called to confer with the central board on the more general questions involved in their work. The chairman of each ward-conference, moreover, has affixed to his house or shop a conspicuous placard bearing his title, and each case needing relief within the district applies first to him. By him the case is referred to the appropriate visitor, who may relieve immediate necessity by food or fuel pending the action of his conference and of the central board.

Thus far the Elberfeld System has become in large degree Americanized. The doctrine of the individualizing of aid and of the continuous care of cases has become, under the Associated-Charities System, beyond debate an essential to a well-conducted city. There now remains, however, one other conspicuous feature of the German method of which we have in America hardly a trace. It is the relation between charity-work and citizenship. The Associated-Charities System waits for visitors to volunteer, takes what material comes to it, is always lacking in competent assistants, and—as its friends frankly admit and lament—cannot even with the best intentions and machinery adequately cover the region where it works. The Elberfeld System in Germany, on the other hand, is a universal compulsory municipal system. It does not depend on the voluntary emotions of the chari-

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table. It directly calls into service the most competent citizens of each town. It recruits its army of charity-workers just as it does its army of fighting men—by actual draft and selection. It honors citizens with this responsibility for the care of the poor; it covers every square yard of the city with its supervision, so that it can be confidently said that no case of great need, unless it hides itself, will escape visitation or need lack temporary relief. Poor-visitors in Germany are city officers, elected by the two chambers of the city government in joint session, just as some of our cities choose a park-commission or a water-board or the trustees of a public library.

The city government does not hesitate to call on the most responsible and trustworthy men of the town. I have found such persons of importance practically serving as visitors in each town where I have studied the system. Thus in Halle I may name Professor Conrad, one of the principal political economists of Germany, and Professor Loofs, the New Testament theologian; in Cassel Dr. Krummacher, son of the distinguished preacher and the head of a high school for girls; in Dresden, Professor Böhmert, Director of the Bureau of Statistics in Saxony and well known to American students both as an economist and a philanthropist. It is as if in Boston persons like President Walker, of the Institute of Technology, and Dean Huntington, of Boston University, and the Head Master of the Girls' High School, and the Rector of Trinity Church should be chosen to visit five families each in certain small districts of the city, and should regard it as a part of their duty as citizens to fulfil their terms of service in the ranks of this friendly army.

All social interests and connections are represented in the list of visitors. Thus in 1890 there were in the Dresden staff the following classes: three physicians, three apothecaries, ten architects and builders, thirty-four clerks, eighteen manufacturers, seventeen clergymen, one hundred and seventy-five tradesmen, two engineers, eighty-one business men, two artists, forty-nine teachers, three district judges, two retired officers, thirty-two private citizens three professors, and the meagre quota of three lawyers. These visitors are initiated into office with various degrees of honor in various towns. In Dresden the unity lies in the ward-conference, and only the chairman of that conference deals directly with the central committee of control. In Elberfeld a better rule prevails. All the newly-elected visitors meet the central committee at the beginning of the year, are addressed in terms of fraternal compliment by the head of the

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department, and are finally given his right hand in testimony of their new office. Thus in 1872 the chairman's words of welcome began and closed as follows:

"I have invited you, gentlemen, to our extra session to-day to induct you into the office to which you have been elected and to accept the pledges from you which the rules of our poor-relief require. Let me first speak to you of the meaning of your service, which, as your instructions point out, is among the most serious duties of a citizen and demands for its fulfilment active love of one's neighbor and an earnest sense of justice. You must listen with friendly sympathy to the appeals of the poor, checking with care undeserving attempts, scrupulously distributing the necessary aid, and preventing idleness and vice from being supported and propagated. Each demand for help will come, first of all, to you. . . . Accept your office, then, with this intention. It offers you many opportunities to contribute to the amelioration of our social troubles. Make it your first duty to hold to the letter of your instructions, within whose limits you have a broad field for your active sympathy. You have declared your acceptance of the office of visitors and propose to do its duties faithfully. In token of this determination I offer you now this right hand of welcome."

The printed "instructions" referred to in this serious exhortation give full information to each visitor as to his proceeding in each case, and they further emphasize especially the friendly side of the visitors' duty:

"Each visitor is to feel the ambition to advance the interests of each part of his charity-work by diligence and sympathy. The work demands both humanity and good citizenship. The visitor, therefore, must combine humanity with firmness and the interests of the poor with the interests of the town. . . . He must especially interest himself in the education under healthful influence of the children of the poor."

I cannot here pursue the system thus indicated into its details of method. A German city, dealing with its poor in the spirit of the address just quoted, does for them very many things which have not yet occurred to English or American towns. It encourages attendance in the public schools by cheap rates on horse-cars for school-children. It provides all possible opportunities for recreation, heaps of sand for little children in every public park, and special places of resort for mothers with their babies. It floods vacant lots in winter for free skating-places for children. All such undertakings are matters of very slight expense and are simply outgrowths of the first principle of German poor-relief, that government is not a machine but a human relationship. There are, however, two special features of the poor-relief of Dresden which have a considerable reputation in Germany and which I must briefly mention. One is the city's care of

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neglected children, and the other is the relation of public help to private charity.

The city orphan-asylum of Dresden has been maintained for more than two hundred years, and it has become enriched by bequests and by the advancing value of real estate until its capital amounts to nearly two hundred thousand dollars. In 1831 it was full of occupants, and the pressure on it was temporarily relieved by transferring some of these children from the institution to homes in the country. The result of this transfer was so satisfactory that it became a system, and by degrees the orphan-asylum has become almost deserted and the children for whom the city is responsible are now for the most part settled in a number of so-called "colonies" (*Kinder-Colonien*) in various Saxon villages. It is the same principle which our Children's Aid Societies follow of deporting neglected children from city life to country homes, and it proceeds from the same wholesome distrust of life in institutions; but it is done systematically, thoroughly, municipally, and I mention it here because it is one more step away from "in-door relief," because indeed it is not only "out-door relief," but even "out-of-town relief"—and the farther out the better. In 1885 there were three hundred and forty-eight children thus cared for in the country and only forty-three left in the asylum. The cost of maintenance in the institution was in the same year one hundred and thirty-nine dollars for each child; the cost in the country was thirty-eight dollars. The system, thus successfully begun by Dresden, has been imitated by other German cities, notably by Leipzig.

Three classes of children are comprehended in the plan: orphans without means, children whose parents are incapable of self-support, and children whom the police recommend for separation from their parents. Such children, if accepted, are first taken to the asylum for temporary stay, and then, if their case needs prolonged care, are transferred to a "colony." This colony is not properly so called, for it is simply a village where special arrangements are made in private homes. The parish minister in the village becomes the city's agent, and under his direction the children are domesticated in different families. Each child receives an inventory of clothing, and its guardian has two dollars and fifty cents a month for its board. The parish minister receives a slight annual fee—one dollar and twenty-five cents—for each child in his district. The attendance of physicians is provided by the city. Each boy when his time comes for learning a trade receives twenty-five dollars for his apprenticeship fee, and clothing; and

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each girl at her confirmation receives six dollars and twenty-five cents for her confirmation dress. With all these apparently superfluous marks of consideration, the system, as has been said, costs about one-quarter of the support of similar cases in an institution; and as for the effect on health and on morality, nothing need be said. There are such things as city poor-houses whose influence and atmosphere are that of a loving Christian family; and a good institution is better than a bad home. But the chances are greatly in favor of rural and segregated life. No form of charity is so expensive for any city as the maintenance of great asylums, and no way of life is likely to be more pernicious for children, and especially for girls, than life in an institution in the midst of young and old of the lowest social type.

Another special feature of poor-relief in the town with which I am dealing is the relation of public charity thus administered to private and voluntary help. One might well ask what would become of private initiative under so comprehensive a plan. Would it not tend to check personal benevolence and to ruin the work of private societies? Would not citizens come to think of all help as state help and run all risks of a passive socialism? This might be the case if the limits of the two ways of charity were not carefully defined, but with this clear definition a good city system ought to strengthen private charity by giving it a place of its own to fill and a special work to do. This is just what has happened in Germany. Relief by the town carries with it the loss of the right of suffrage and is therefore unwelcome to all except the chronic poor. Cases of temporary poverty fall to the voluntary societies, and a relation is established between them and the city visitors by means of a thoroughly-maintained charity clearing-house. At the city bureau, where complete records of all cases are kept, there was arranged in 1883 a "central station" through which pass the statements of relief by all agencies in all cases. Thus in 1890 there were seventy-five private charities using this clearing-house for their transactions. The city spent in that year one hundred and sixty thousand dollars in its administration of charity, and the private societies, so far as reported, spent a much larger sum—two hundred and thirty-one thousand dollars.

A case of temporary need under this system takes as a rule the following course: First it applies to a private society, which may relieve temporary necessity, but holds itself bound to forward the whole case to the central station. Here the standing and history of the case are promptly examined and reported back to the society. Its

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previous relation both to city and to private relief, its record at the police courts, the help given by the local insurance system, by any trade-union or by a friendly society—all are clearly set forth with German completeness. The private society then accepts the case as appropriate to its sphere of work or refers it through the clearing-house to the proper channel of relief. The total result is on record at the central office or makes by degrees the biography of a person, or even the history of a family stock. Duplication of relief becomes almost impossible, and the proper assignment of cases to the appropriate charity is easily made. The thoroughness with which this relation is carried out can be shown only by studying specific cases. I have therefore taken two such cases from the records of the best private society in Dresden, the Society for the Relief of Poverty (*Verein gegen Armennoth*).

This model relief society has its own staff of visitors on the Elberfeld plan, a system within a system; and it has taken the radical step of including among these visitors, to its great advantage, a large number of women. These visitors, I repeat, may relieve immediate emergencies. They are indeed bound to supervise the case during the interval of its investigation; and the excellent provision of the city in lodging-houses for the shelterless, in people's kitchens, and in wood-yards for temporary work make this first care of a case less difficult. One of the cases in the table may be called a good case and the other a bad one. One is of the class accepted by the Society as fit for temporary help; the other is of the class of chronic poor, who are turned over to the town visitors. I choose them because, superficially considered, they seem very much alike, their difference only appearing after careful examination. Dealt with by any slovenly method of relief, both, I think, would have been treated alike. A thorough municipal system finds one case adapted to private aid and the other fit only for official remedies. It will be noticed that the whole circle of inquiry, beginning with the first application of the case, proceeding through all the channels of relief and the police records and leading to a visitor's report finally acted on by the Society, occupied, even under the plodding methods of German book-keeping, in one case a week and in the other and more difficult case the not unreasonable time of ten days. With American habits of business neither case should need, for its first examination, more than two or three days, and after the original record was made, the later needs of any such cases should be disposed of in two or three hours.

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Reports of Cases for the Society for the Relief of Poverty (*Verein gegen Armennoth*).

A.—Statement of Applicants.

1. Date of request	November 24, 1891.	March 26, 1891.
2. Name		
3. Born	February 24, 1862.	September 19, 1849.
4. Birthplace	Ebersberg, Bezirk Trier.	Landeshut in Schlesien.
5. How long in Dresden ?	Eight years.	Since 1886.
6. Lodging	Falkenstrasse 3 (111).	Falkenstrasse 20, H. H., pt.
7. Lived there since ?	Easter, 1891.	November, 1890.
8. Rent	208 marks ($52).	210 marks ($53).
9. Rent payable	Quarterly.	Monthly.
10. Member of savings bank ?	Yes.	No.
11. Back rent due ?	None.	February and March, 35 marks ($9).
12. Is part of lodging rented ?	No.	No.
13. Former lodging	27 Josephinenstrasse.	15 Starkengasse.
14. Married	Six years.	No.
15. Name and birth of wife	Clara Ida Richter; born at Kotschenbroda, Sept. 13, 1863.	
16. Number of children	Two sons, one daughter.	
17. Age of children	One year ; three years ; six years.	
18. Other dependent relations.	None.	None.
19. Religion	Protestant.	Protestant.
20. Trade	Tinman.	Shoemaker.
21. Weekly earnings		About $2.50 (10 marks).
22. How long without work ?	Several years. Ill with pneumonia for some months; was only for a short time this year able to work.	
23. Trade of the wife	Does some waiting, with which she earns about 15 marks per month.	
24. Insurance ?	Local insurance.	None.
25. Savings in bank ?	None.	None.
26. Why not ?		
27. Debts	5 marks for provisions.	None.
28. Any mortgaged property ?	None.	One bed and clothing, worth 15 marks.
29. Any help from city ?	None.	None.
30. From insurance ?	10 marks.	None.
31. From any association ?	Women's Society (last year).	None.
32. Cause of request	Illness.	Poor earnings and inability to work during December of last year and January of this year.
33. What is wanted ?	Money for rent and provisions.	Money.

B.—Result of Inquiries.

I.—At the Central Station :		
1. Is residence in Dresden ?	Yes.	Yes.
2. Has city given help ?	No.	No.
3. Amount per week		
4. Amount for special support		
5. Is anything known of his reputation ?	No.	No.
II.—At other relief associations :		
1. Has he been helped ?	No.	No.
III.—At the police-office :		
1. Any conviction ?	No.	No.
2. Any bad reports ?	No.	No.
IV.—At the local insurance :		
1. Amount of help		
V.—At the trade union :		
1. Amount of rent paid		

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C.—REPORT OF THE SOCIETY'S VISITOR.

1. Is the statement of the petitioner correct ?.....	Yes. The man has been out of work three weeks on account of disease of the chest. He earns nothing and in consequence the debts of 5 marks have increased to 15 marks.	Yes.
2. Reputation of the petitioner	The landlord as well as the tinman for whom the man worked give the best possible reports.	Immoral. Lives with a woman. Are both said to quarrel and to drink. Works when sober.
3. State of lodging.....	Extremely clean and neat. One sees that the family has been in better condition formerly; there was still to be found a flower-stand and an aquarium.	Very poor. Extremely dirty and disorderly.
4. Impression of the petitioner's personality.....	Very favorable.	Very unfavorable.
5. Impression of the petitioner's family...	The same.	No family except the woman, who looks disreputable.
6. Is the petitioner's capability of self-support limited ?..	Yes, by little children.	Yes, by illness.
7. Is he really in need ?.....	Not now, but will be shortly.	Undoubtedly in great need.
8. Cause of need	Long and severe illness.	Illness and want of employment.
9. Ought we to help him ?....	Yes. There is hope that the man may recover and will be able to earn his own living.	I don't think so. The man is too low to be able ever to improve his condition. I believe, in short, that he should be cared for by the city.
10. Recommendation of Society's visitor.....	I recommend one gift of 30 marks ($7.50).	I recommend to refer him to the city visitor, as I do not think him able to repay the 20 marks ($5) for which he now asks.
11. How should the gift be made ?.....	In cash.	
12. Amount.....	30 marks ($7.50).	
13. Through whom ?.....	I am willing to disburse it.	
The above statement was returned to the office of our Association.....	November 30, 1891.	April 6, 1891.
Recommendation of Society's reporter.....	One gift of 30 marks ($7.50).	
Vote of the Society's Executive Board.....	30 marks, as above.	To be referred to the City Poor Relief.
Above vote and money allowed handed to the Society's visitor.....	December 5, 1891.	April 28, 1891.

What such a system thus carried out means for a German town it is hardly necessary to say. That it means the abolition of poverty is of course out of the question. In the present condition of most parts of Germany it would be fairer to say that every one was poor than to say that no one was poor. The standard of life in the humbler classes is incredibly low, and an existence not without contentedness is maintained on a scale much below that which passes for pauperism with us.

But it is at least much to say that in such a town of two hundred thousand people supervision is so thorough that a case of critical want unknown and unrelieved is practically impossible. Beggary is a

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crime and is practised only by stealth. Paupers half-clad in rags and suffering in winter weather are not to be seen in the streets. In every appeal for help the condition of the home must be described by the visitor, and it is to the advantage of the applicant that he should be described as neat and thrifty. However poor, therefore, one may be, he is tempted, not as with us, to make the worst of his condition in his surroundings and his clothes, but to make the best of it.[1] Filth in the home or on the person lessens the chance of substantial aid. The faults of the system are to be summed up as the faults of human nature. It depends on the quality of the visitors enlisted. Some of them are literalists, bound too closely by their printed instructions; some of them are too independent and sympathetic to be discreet; some of them are too slow and some are too hasty; some are too hard and some are too soft; and the perfect working of the system often encounters much friction. But, after all, if one must choose between the variation of human nature and the undiscriminating methods of machinery, then we must certainly incline to the human relationship.

Yet with all these advantages in direct relief, the chief merit of the Elberfeld System in Germany lies not in its immediate advantages to the poor, but in the education of the prosperous and the elevation of moral tone in the whole community. Each year, under the German plan, a large body of citizens is drafted into this help of the helpless

[1] In the Saxon Statistics for 1885 (*Zeitschrift des Königlich Stat. Bureau*, XXXI., *Jahrgang* 1885, *Heft* III. and IV., p. 185 *ff.*) are collected the records of income and expense in the case of the families of certain weavers in the district of Zittau (Eastern Saxony). The results are almost incredible. In one instance a man of fifty-three years and wife of fifty support life independently on a total income of seventy-six dollars and fifty cents (305 marks). In another the man of thirty-five, wife of thirty-two, and four children, of six, five, three years, and one of four months, have an income of one hundred and sixteen dollars (464 marks) and make both ends meet. In a third case, with man of fifty-one years, wife of forty-nine, and two children twenty-two and nineteen, the family budget is as follows:

Food[1]	$63.50 = 254 marks.	Utensils	$ .50 = 2 marks.
Rent[2]	... ...	Pleasure	2.00 = 8 "
Clothing	11.25 = 45 "	Taxes	4.00 = 16 "
Fuel	4.00 = 16 "		$85.25 = 341 "

The family in this case earns by its weaving, with working hours from 6 A.M. to 7 or 8 P.M., a total income of ninety-seven dollars = 388 marks. They are therefore living quite within their income; setting by, indeed, about one-eighth of it for a day when their present prosperity may decline.

[1] They own a goat and raise potatoes.
[2] They own their little cottage of three rooms without loft and cellar.

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and passed through the discipline of charity service. Each year this series of new recruits is trained in the best tactics of social usefulness, just as each year another body of citizens is trained in the discipline of army service. In 1885 there were twenty hundred and eighty-seven such unpaid visitors serving in Berlin alone; in 1890 there was in all Germany an army of perhaps twenty thousand men accepting this responsibility and learning this lesson of experience. The American traveller in Germany goes there with a strong prejudice against anything that looks like compulsory army duty, with its terrible drain on the productive capacity of a nation; and certainly that land is fortunate which does not have to bear this annual burden. But there are, beyond a doubt, physical and moral advantages in the German army system not to be despised. The men of Germany, though they are robbed of some years of domestic and industrial life, are at least moulded into strong-knit bodies and disciplined minds. The same beneficent effect is much more true of the Elberfeld System. It has none of the terrible disadvantages of the army service. It does not interrupt a man's business or break up his home or cost money to the state or threaten evil to other nations. It simply trains citizens in citizenship. It perpetuates the tradition that a man in a modern state shall not live to himself alone. A part of good citizenship lies in bearing others' burdens. Those that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak and not to please themselves. If this is socialism let us make the most of it. It is also Christianity. It cannot be stated in clear language without tempting one into the language of the New Testament. It is the way a city ought, if possible, to take care of its poor.

If, finally, we go on to inquire whether a system of this kind is in any degree applicable to an American city, our answer will depend on two things: first, the kind of city we take, and, secondly, the kind of citizens it contains. If, for instance, we consider the case of a city which is in the hands of a ring of politicians, using appointments as spoils for their supporters, then the committing to such a city government of new power of appointments, with public money to disburse, would only tend to involve a new disgrace. The four or five hundred poor-visitors might very probably be chosen, not for their fitness for a grave responsibility, but for their chances of profit or opportunity for trade or for sectarian or party reasons. They would be likely to help families who would promise a vote for the "boss," or who would buy their groceries at the visitor's store, or whom perhaps the clergy

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of some private body would recommend. The enlargement of the functions of city government where city government is already misused would be the worst hindrance of reform. Or if, on the other hand, in any city there is a manifest and general lack of public spirit, so that the best citizens have abandoned their interest in town affairs, then, again, it might be in vain to call on them for public service.

This is the view which the English experts take of the German system. "What is good in it," says Mr. Loch, Secretary of the London Charity Organization Society, and perhaps the most competent of English critics, "is due to good citizenship. We cannot have an out-relief policy in London. We have not citizenship enough to administer it." There are some American cities where this is probably true. It is the natural result of giving over a city to party politics that people who are not politicians cease to care for public affairs. Bad city government breeds bad citizenship. To this should be added the intrinsic difficulty of good administration in very large cities of very shifting population. Good charity is hard to get in such cases; but so is good government in all other respects. Great cities—and especially great seaboard cities in countries inviting immigration, whether in England, Australia, or even the United States—are the baffling elements in all social reformation. Yet in cities of this type I should not be without hope of applying the Elberfeld System as a private and voluntary scheme.

Why should not the Associated Charities, already so active and so beneficent in these larger cities, proceed more positively and aggressively than they have thus far done? Hitherto they have waited for volunteers and have assigned cases of need to such helpers as presented themselves. They have always lacked good visitors and have never really covered the ground. Why should they not proceed to district the city, or at least its needier regions, and then invite to the inspection of limited blocks the men and women whom they judge most competent? Some would decline to serve, but a surprising number of persons would accept such service if the service were made specific, limited, and real. The central committee should say to such a person: "Will you, under printed instructions put into your hands, undertake to supervise the single block of houses from Fourth Street to Fifth Street on Avenue A, on condition that if you discover more than five cases needing continuous care your district shall be divided?" Many men who now believe themselves too busy for any such vocation would, I feel sure, be unable to refuse such specific

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work under a trustworthy plan. After a good deal of experience in begging money and enlisting recruits for affairs of public interest, I should wish to testify that the one thing which most deters benefactors and allies is not their own selfishness, but the vagueness, generality, and over-comprehensiveness of most plans urged upon their notice. People take slight interest in general movements for the relief of pauperism or the elevation of the human race, but if you ask them for money or for time to do a reasonable and definite work in a precisely-defined and practicable way, they are, I think, generally glad of the chance to make a safe investment.

And if we turn, last of all, from our great misgoverned cities to the many towns in the United States of moderate size and of reasonably good government, then I see no reason why a good system of poor-relief should not be attempted by the town itself. It ought to be made a part of citizenship to stand ready for some personal service in one's town. We cannot look for any thorough dealing with poor-relief until this personal relation is established and the army of the prosperous sends out its scouts to seek and save the weak. In Mr. Charles Francis Adams' interesting address at the centennial of the town of Quincy ("The Centennial Milestone, July 4, 1892") he recalls the fact that this appointment by the town to the duties of citizenship is no new thing among us. In 1761 John Adams was appointed surveyor of highways and accepted the office; in 1734 Josiah Quincy was elected constable, refused to serve, and "paid his fine down, being five pounds."

The modern German system applies this same principle of compulsory municipal service to poor-relief and blesses both those who give and those who take; and many an American town might easily and hopefully try the plan. Charity cannot do everything for a community. It is always imperfect and temporary, a medicine which indicates social disease rather than a preventive of it. Back of all charity lie the deeper questions of the social order, which charity does not abolish, but only mitigates. Back of the work of medicine lies the more radical work of sanitation and hygiene. Yet two things judicious charity can do. It can, first, so cover the ground that no case of immediate need shall be undiscovered or shame the community by its sudden disclosure. It can, secondly, educate the prosperous in a sense of responsibility and of citizenship, which will go far to free them from their besetting sin of self-absorption and their special disadvantage of an isolated and narrow life.

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Town governments would on the whole act soberly in such appointments, where work would be plentiful and where there would be no pay. It would be easy to show a board of selectmen the very great economy of the individualizing method of relief as compared with the building and maintaining of city institutions, and the moral effect both on givers and receivers would soon appear. It would be a fortunate town in the United States which, before its growth became unmanageably large, should educate its prosperous citizens to do something for the needy and should educate the needy through the discipline of continuous and friendly visitation. Such a town would be free from many burdens and abuses of institutional life; it would be a good town for the thrifty poor to live in, and a town to which the undeserving poor would not be likely to come. It would be a town in which prosperity would not breed hate among the poor nor be so likely to work destruction to the rich through their own self-indulgence. It would be a place in which Christian ministers could with easier minds select such texts as "Bear ye one another's burdens" and "No man liveth to himself." The citizens of such a town would seem to be making a radical change in their plan of poor-relief, but they would be doing only what scores of German towns and thousands of German citizens are doing every year.

32 FRANCIS G. PEABODY.

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SPECIAL NEEDS OF THE POOR IN NEW YORK.

"I THINK the best way of doing good to the poor is not by making them easy in poverty, but by leading or driving them out of it." With these words of Benjamin Franklin the Charity Organization Society of New York prefaces its report for last year very aptly, for better doctrine the nineteenth century has not been able to advance. In fact, the entire science of alms-giving, as we have learned it since the day of the prophetic printer, may be summed up in the terms of his modest opinion become conviction and reduced to system. That being so, the state of the poverty problem in any given community may to a great extent be learned from the answer to a simple question: How far and how successfully has it followed Franklin's plan?

Unfortunately it is easier to ask than to answer some questions, and with reference to New York particularly this is one of them. Even when it is answered more or less hopefully in the assurance of the report I have quoted that the old era of indiscriminate alms-giving is passing away and scientific methods are obtaining in charity, the statement fails to clear away as it should the doubts and perplexities besetting the problem. That is because none of us knows the full extent of it. A general cannot be sure that he has won a battle until he knows how many fresh regiments the enemy has in reserve. To measure the poverty problem in New York, one must reckon with half the political, economic, and social troubles of the Old World. In one way or another they all enter into it. Every new attack of Jew-baiting in Russia or Germany, every threatened famine over there, every fresh political persecution, sends its hordes of destitute emigrants over the sea to swell the army of the unemployed and needy. And its headquarters is always in New York. The column of the able-bodied and the ambitious moves on eventually; other States, other communities get the benefit of that. It is our task not only to find ways and means of starting it on its journey, but to take care as well of the sediment that settles in the slums, too helpless to strike out for itself, all its energies exhausted in that generation in the uprooting from the old soil. Of the 1,489 new families registered by the

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Charity Organization Society as seeking or needing assistance in the last six months of 1891, 65 per cent in round numbers were foreign; that is, the heads of them were of foreign birth; and the record takes no cognizance of the much larger number of newly arrived immigrants who were helped by relief societies of their own nationality or faith. A single one of these, for instance, the United Hebrew Charities, reports being called upon last year to assist in one way or another no less than 23,571 of a total of 52,000 of their people who came over during the year; that is, quite 45 per cent. During the same period the society relieved 48,678 persons who were registered as having been in the country more than two years, and who appear under the head of "local poor." They were not part of the record, either.

I know of only one way to get to the bottom of the problem, and that is unsatisfactory at best, for it brings up but a small part of it; but, as I said, that is the very bottom and therefore solid ground. For many years it has been true of New York that one-tenth of all who die in this great and wealthy city are buried in the Potter's Field. It is true still. In 1882 the percentage of interments in the city cemetery, as the pauper burial-ground is charitably styled in the official records, was 10.05 per cent of all; in 1884 it was 10.51 per cent; in 1887, 10.11; and in 1891, 9.77. For the ten years between 1882 and 1891 it averaged 9.93 per cent. Of the 382,530 interments recorded in the decade, 37,994 were in the Potter's Field. The law providing decent private burial at the public expense for veterans of the Rebellion and of the Mexican War who died poor and friendless reduced the ghastly record by a fraction of one per cent. But for that, this lost tenth would still stand unchallenged. Nine thousand dollars are annually apportioned for the purpose and used up at the rate of $35 for each funeral. At this rate 257 veteran dead were saved from the Potter's Field last year. They would have swelled its percentage from 9.77 to 10.36 and maintained the 10-per-cent average for the ten years. It is true that the infant mortality of the foundling asylums and of the tenements and the unknown dead, most of these suicides, enter into this computation, but they make part of the record of life and death in our city. No specious plea can disguise the fact that this dreadfully large percentage of our city's life is inevitably tending, year after year, toward utter wreck and disaster.

Those who have had any personal experience with the poor and know with what agony of fear they struggle against this crown-

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ing misery, how they plan and plot and pinch for the poor privilege of being laid at last in a grave that is theirs to keep, though in life they never owned a shred to call their own, will agree with me that it is putting it low to assume that where one falls, in spite of it all, into this dreaded trench, at least two or three must be always hovering on the edge of it. And with this estimate of from 20 to 30 per cent of our population always struggling to keep the wolf from the door, with the issue in grievous doubt, all the known, if scattered, facts of charity management in New York agree well enough. In the ten years of its existence the Charity Organization Society has registered 160,000 families as receiving or applying for relief. The family is the unit of the society's records, but there is a certain percentage of single men and women who go in under that head with the rest, counting each as one. In the last six months accounted for, that percentage was 25.99. Assuming that it is always one-fourth, we will allow, to be entirely safe, only two and a half as the family average instead of the standard four and a half that applies to official computations of our city's population, and take no account of the many whom the charity census missed (as for instance the United Hebrew Charities' 72,000 last year), there being no pretence that it is complete or even nearly so—even then we have an army of 400,000 persons receiving alms in the past ten years, of whom 85 per cent may be safely estimated to be still in the slough, or where they may be swamped in it by the first misfortune, idleness, death, or loss of work. The other 15 per cent worked out of it, died, or moved away.

I have allowed a large margin of safety, because there is more or less guesswork about it as soon as one cuts away from the safe moorings of the death registry. It is only the dead paupers that are polled. The cost of disposing of them is definite and fixed. A pine box and a cheap cotton shroud comprise it. The trench on Hart's Island is free to all. The expense of providing for the living poor is not so easily ascertained. The estimate that the community pays out a round eight millions a year in public and private relief is probably substantially correct. In spite of it—perhaps to a considerable extent because of it—mendicancy increased last winter to an alarming extent, and there is a prospect that the heavy tax will be made heavier still without achieving much better results. That does not look as if we were getting the better of our problem. Our system of public relief directly encourages mendicancy, while private charity management, though it has learned much, yet fails to prevent it.

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The very name which we give in New York to our public relief machine, the Department of Charities and Corrections, discloses a fundamental mistake that is responsible for much mischief. The thing which the pauper has lost and the lack of which makes it so hard to make anything of him is his self-respect, the respect for his dignity as a self-supporting man, for his ability to work out of the slough by his own effort. To find himself classed with thieves and rascals is not apt to help him regain it. Yet that is the sort of company he is made to keep in the official charity plan. The workhouse, the penitentiary, and the almshouse occupy "the Island" together, with more or less fanciful lines drawn between them. Fences and gates do not keep out moral contagion, and the influence of the Island, especially upon the honestly poor whom extreme misfortune brought there, can never be otherwise than bad. It stands for the old idea of dealing with the poor that simply looked to getting them out of the sight of their happier fellows whom their misery offended. It was never better expressed than by the President of the Department of Charities and Correction in an argument before the Board of Apportionment a year or two ago when the law to establish municipal lodging-houses for the homeless poor was under discussion. The official contention was that the station-house lodgers were all tramps (which is not the fact) and ought to be arrested.

"Hand them over to us," said President Porter, speaking for his department, "and we will send them to the Island, where you will never hear of them again."

That would be an easy way to get rid of them, to be sure, but the experience of this last election, when Mr. Porter's two colleagues were arrested on the charge of inducing wholesale registration of inmates of the Island institutions, suggests that it was not meant literally. We were yet to hear of them periodically, at election-times, for instance. The claim that these men were there of their own free will, because they were homeless and unfortunate, not as prisoners, seems like begging the question. What else made the others apply for lodging at the police stations, I should like to know? Or are men to be commended for surrendering themselves to the Island, with all it stands for, and blamed for struggling to keep out of its reach even at the risk of having to sleep in a police station?

This election episode hints broadly at the underlying stratum of politics to fit which every measure of reform must be shrunk or stretched before the politicians will allow it to pass. The Municipal

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Lodging-House bill that would have done away with one of the most disgraceful scandals of our day did not fit it and did not pass for many seasons. When persistent effort forced it through at last, it remained a dead letter on the statute-books, owing to the hostility of the city authorities. Like agencies have defeated so far the "Cumulative Sentence" bill, which would have operated in good earnest to keep the real tramps out of sight on the Island until they had learned to keep sober. That bill would make of the Island a reform school, a *rôle* which the experienced politician might justly distrust its ability to fill. I have no desire to attribute evil motives to him where good may be found even with an effort. My contention is that he is not so discriminating, but recklessly picks up what suits his purpose, whether it happens to be good or bad. And his purpose being generally a selfish one, it has a natural affinity for the worst agencies in working out its results.

The city "out-door relief" embraces a dispensary at Bellevue Hospital that furnishes free medicine, an annual appropriation of $20,000 for free coal, and a like amount which takes the form of a "donation" to the blind beggars of our streets, in shamefaced acknowledgment of our failure to do better by them. There has never been any adequate provision in New York for this class of unfortunates, and as they must live and cannot work, they are allowed to beg on the pretence of selling pencils and knick-knacks, which no one ever buys. In lieu, as it were, of board and clothing, the city gives them this $20,000 in one annual payment. Time was when that really meant something, when each beneficiary received a hundred dollars or so, enough to pay for rent and coal; but the money long since ceased to be anything more than a mere bait for beggars, and nowadays is worse than wasted. When it became known that New York put a premium on blind beggars, they came from all about to lay claim to it, and their numbers reduced the proportionate share of each until last year they received only a pittance of $38 apiece. The one practical result has been to more than double the number of these unfortunates in the city, and so further to perplex the problem of what to do with them.

As to the coal, it is dealt out in half-tons on the order of the Superintendent of Out-Door Poor, an officer of the Department of Charities and Corrections, after investigation by paid visitors of the department. Something like twelve thousand half-tons are thus given out every winter. No doubt most of it is badly needed where it

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goes. But it is maintained by those who should know that the department visitors have, as a rule, neither the training nor the disposition to make such inquiry as should be made, and that little would be lost to the cause of true charity were the free coal dropped from the list altogether. The truest charity would be to provide some means of letting the poor have their coal at the same figure which the rich man pays for his. That does not seem a revolutionary proposition; but as a matter of fact they pay nearly twice as much now, buying coal by the pail at the corner grocery at from ten to twelve cents a pail. There are charities in existence now in the tenement districts that look to the saving of this usurious corner-grocery profit to the tenant, and they are doing real good in a very practical way in their limited fields. Something of that sort on a much larger scale should be able to buy coal at the lowest wholesale rates, and so further cheapen it to its customers.

Much has been done in the last ten years in the way of organizing private charity in the city and rendering it effective for good. More is being done. The Charity Organization Society is enlarging its field of usefulness year by year, and its principles are at last generally accepted as the only sound principles in dealing with the poor. Still more remains to be done. New York differs from other cities not only in the conditions of its problem, but in other ways that make it exceedingly difficult to adapt to our use plans which have proved successful elsewhere. Its constantly changing population and shifting economic conditions demand, too, an elasticity of system that is not easily attained. The best feature of the plan, that has been its backbone everywhere and has made the German system so perfect, is not readily acclimated with us here in New York: it is very hard to get volunteer visitors to do the work. It is hard everywhere, where the Government does not press them into service as it does in Germany, but harder in New York than anywhere else, because of the intensity of our life and the tremendous struggle to keep afloat in the crowd that pushes all other cares and concerns aside and out of sight. In Philadelphia, for instance, where life is not such a wild rush as in New York, the present Secretary of our Charity Organization Society had no difficulty in gathering and keeping some eleven hundred friendly visitors by three years' work. Here in New York ten years of constant effort have hardly succeeded in drumming up two hundred. It does not seem possible to get much farther than that. But ten times that number of volunteer visitors might be easily used to advan-

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tage in our city. For the want of them the work suffers and the full strength of the system may never be realized here.

Here is at once the weak spot of charity management in New York and its greatest need. Next to that, work is needed. I have heard it said a thousand times that in this busy city of ours no one who really wants work need go idle long; but in the best season, when work and wages are most plentiful, that is only half-true. The work may be there, and at the same time thousands may be going around looking very hard for it, yet fail to find it. They do not know where to look and there is no one to tell them. Perhaps they do not know enough of our language to ask and be understood. Some agency is needed to bring the work and those who want it together under auspices that would inspire confidence on both sides. I remember being called, a year or two ago, in my capacity as police reporter, to a tenement on the West side—I think it was in West Thirty-seventh Street—where a painter had that day cut his throat. Standing there by the corpse, I learned from the sobbing widow that the man was desperate for want of work. He had been on the street for weeks and his children were starving. It happened that I had been for just the same length of time looking for a man to paint my house out in the country, where painters were scarce and very busy. I had just made up my mind to advertise that day. There lay this painter dead because he could find no one to give him work, while I would have been glad to pay him more than the wages of his trade to get him to work for me. Had there been any means of bringing us together to which we would both naturally have resorted, he would have been alive and his family self-supporting. Now it seemed certain to become a burden upon the public.

It was not the only instance of that sort by very many I had come across. I thought then, and I think now, that some great central labor bureau conducted by a thoroughly responsible organization that could appeal to the community with the certainty not only of enlisting the aid of employers, but also of reaching the unemployed, would be one of the greatest boons that could be conferred upon the poor. The six months' records of the Charity Organization Society to which I have repeatedly referred show that in the opinion of the visitors 45.87 per cent of all who applied for help needed work rather than alms, and, if anything, that was a lower average than ordinarily observed by charity managers. The statistics of a whole specimen year of the society's work showed the percentage of those who needed

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work most to be 52.02. Precisely the same results attended a similar inquiry in Boston. Surely these figures contain a suggestion worth heeding.

How well this is worth heeding only those can know who have had experience with this sort of thing. The slightest push, the lift of a finger at the right moment, is sometimes enough to start a family that hovers on the edge of pauperism on the road to independence, even prosperity on a modest scale; while without it, it would certainly have taken the downward course from which there might never be any recovery. Two of the cases that gave a relief committee with which I was connected most courage and pleasure were those of an old Irishman and a consumptive Jew, both of whom we had really despaired of at the first survey. For the one ten dollars bought a push-cart and a load of garden truck that set him up in a business so successful that in a very few weeks he came to repay the loan, beaming with honest pride. In the case of the Jew we clubbed together with the United Hebrew Charities and bought him a pack, and that was the beginning of a new life for that family, which had just seemed so helpless.

There is another use of such a bureau that would be of very great importance. It would serve to separate the frauds from the honest poor, the goats from the sheep, and so simplify matters. Labor is the shibboleth that does that soonest and best. That was the chief argument used for the replacing of the foul police-station lodging-rooms with clean and decent lodging-houses, where the homeless applicant could have the opportunity to wash himself and to pay for his bed and his breakfast by chopping wood, and so maintain his self-respect, instead of, as now, having to sneak out to beg his breakfast after a night amid surroundings the degrading recollection of which he might not shake off in a lifetime. What this might mean I saw one night last winter, when I picked from among the lodgers in the Oak Street Police Station, the resort of the lowest and worst always, six young lads under eighteen who were there for the first time. They had all come from good homes out of the city. They simply did not know where to go or what to do when they found themselves in the street without money or friends, and so they went to the worst place they could have hit upon. These were some of the "tramps" whom the President of the Department of Charities and Corrections would have sent to the Island, where they would never be heard of again. The bill to abolish this foul blot on our city will be pressed at Albany

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again this winter. It has already become law, and it simply needs to be made mandatory upon the city authorities, who refuse to move in the matter. The effort ought certainly not to fail. A nightly average of more than five hundred homeless men, women, and young lads of the kind I described slept in the police stations last winter.

To provide proper homes for the poor has always been one of the most difficult problems New York has had to deal with, and will probably always remain so. The tenement is in itself an evil that undoes much of the good done by all the agencies of rescue and reform. But the tenement is here to stay and we must make the best of it. Progress has been made in tenement-building as the result of much patient thought and labor in the last ten years. It will not do to let any of the ground so won be lost through inattention now. There was danger of that in the attitude of the legislature and of the city authorities to this question last winter. The transfer of the practical supervision of the building of new tenements from the Health Department to the Department of Buildings was not a good move, and there is reason to fear that we shall see the ill effects of it too soon unless a sharp watch is kept up. The law that created the Tenement-house Commission of seven years ago also provided for a permanent body of city officials, if I am not mistaken, charged with the duty of meeting once or twice a year to follow up the Commission's work. We heard no word of protest from that body last winter, when private citizens had to step in and persuade the Governor not to sign one of the bad bills passed by a careless legislature, to put the best construction on its action which the facts will allow. In fact, I have never heard that this official body has done anything, good or bad, except to hold its peace when it should have spoken out, and I have my doubts about its existing at all. In any event, it can clearly not be trusted to attend to this important matter alone. A committee of representatives from the charitable societies, with such members of the old Tenement-house Commission who can yet be found, should be founded this winter to watch carefully all bills that crop out at Albany touching the structure of tenement-house law, with the object of entering an emphatic protest when anything goes wrong. This cannot be done too soon and must on no account be neglected. Last year the politicians caught us napping, and very nearly upset in a day much of the good accomplished by the hard work of a dozen years.

The right to repress or suppress undesirable immigration rests with

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the General Government. We can only protest against having our city made the dumping-ground for half the poverty and ignorance and vice of the Old World, and abide the result. But if we cannot do much for or with the old immigrant who comes to stay with us, we can do almost anything with his boy. With the children lies the solution of this troublesome riddle. I would have them gathered into our kindergartens and industrial schools while they are very young. I would have the societies that conduct these supported and endowed as the very best investment that can be made to draw interest in good citizenship to come. I would have their schooling surrounded with much better safeguards than now through the enforcement of the compulsory education law, the amendment of it to fix a time limit within which the child's fourteen weeks a year in school must come, the appointment of a sufficient number of truant officers, and the establishment of a truant home, where the boy may be safe. At present we are in the illogical position of arresting the boy for fear he may become a thief by idling in the street, and then locking him up with thieves to make sure that he will catch the contagion. I would have the birth-certificate of the child that labors in factories substituted by law for the present oath of his father that it is of legal age, which leads to perjury and child-slavery, and ties the factory inspector's hands. I would have the Health Department prodded into doing its duty of compelling doctors and midwives to register all births, as the law commands them, to the end that the registry might soon become an effectual aid to the factory inspector. Meanwhile I would let no foreign-born child that is not clearly of age go to work in a shop, except upon the evidence of a birth-certificate from abroad.

I would have the law forbidding the selling of liquors to a child enforced, instead of laughed at as it now is. I would have the special court for the trial of juvenile offenders, where they may not mingle with old thieves and criminals, made a salutary fact as soon as possible. It has been talked of long enough. I would have some competent official appointed by the legislature without delay, to have the supervision of the public institutions where children are kept, with power to take them out and to board them out when he saw fit, and I would have parents who put their children into the institutions merely to get rid of them until they are old enough to earn wages severely punished. I would have some sort of a house or home established in the country somewhere for the unhappiest of all the hapless little wretches of our streets, the crippled children whom no one wants.

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Finally, having applied all these plasters to cure the evil that besets us, I would reach away down under it and pull it up by the roots, by wresting our municipal politics and our municipal government out of the grasp of the saloon. And this I would do in the simplest of all ways, by giving the voters something better than the saloon at the time when they are looking for it. I would put club-rooms *minus* the rum in the crowded quarters and invite the young men in from the street to enjoy themselves in any rational, decent way they saw fit. I would encourage them to discuss there the current topics of the day —they would not need much encouragement—and when election-time came around politics would naturally come up on top. Young men so trained would, when their time to vote came, be sure to give a good account of themselves. We have saloon politics now because the saloon is the poor man's club. Give him a better club and you will have better voting. It is all very simple and natural. Nor is there anything Utopian in the club plan. It has worked to a charm among the boys, and men are nothing but big boys after all. That done, we shall have fallen into Franklin's way in good earnest, and it will be a question of time merely, if we are not swamped in immigration, when we shall really have led or driven the poor out of their poverty, even in spite of the tenement.

JACOB A. RIIS.

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ARE SCOTT, DICKENS, AND THACKERAY OBSOLETE?

CERTAIN writers in England have been asserting lately—and the public seems to have attached some weight to their opinion—that the three greatest novelists which this country has possessed during the century are already losing their popularity and that their day is virtually over. The novelists referred to are Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray, and it has been asked, Who reads them now? The question is an interesting one and has a general as well as a particular meaning, for it prompts us to consider how far the modern novel is a form of art to which even the most powerful genius is capable of imparting any permanent value.

In painting, the most vivid colors, as Sir Joshua Reynolds found, are sometimes those whose brightness fades most quickly; and there are many reasons for imagining that the same may be the case in literature. Of all forms of literature, the modern novel is that which represents life most vividly. The novelist's brush is dipped in the colors of the moment; and though he may deal with the passions of all time, he represents them as manifested under the peculiar conditions of his own. In this way the novel is the very reverse of poetry. Poetry, by means of its mere form, tends to universalize what it treats of and to lift its subject-matter above the sphere in which changes are most rapid; whereas that is the special sphere in which the novelist works. We may take as instances "Faust" and "Werther," or "Wilhelm Meister." In "Faust" the action is nominally laid in the Middle Ages, but we feel that really it is laid in no age in particular, but in all ages or in any age; and the mediæval scenes and manners and even the mediæval superstitions are universal symbols which, like the Apostles' preaching, translate themselves for each reader into his own language. But with "Werther" or "Wilhelm Meister" the case is entirely otherwise. There, though the action is laid in times comparatively recent, we are every moment made to feel that they are different times from ours, and that the actors live in a world disturbed by different interests. Our wonder, even our amusement, is far greater than our sympathy when we think of Werther and Char-

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lotte sucking an orange at a tea-party; and Meister's concern in the fortunes of the German stage or his desire to escape through the stage from the life of a German *bourgeois* must have lost even for German readers most of their original meaning. And of novels generally, as contrasted with poetry, it may be easily imagined that the same thing holds good. As contrasted with poetry, the material of which they are constructed is perishable—is essentially perishable. The very things that make them real to our half-century are the very things that will make them seem unreal to another.

It is easy, I say, to imagine that this is a general, even a necessary truth. But when we turn from imagination to facts do we find it to be so actually? It is true in some instances; but is it true in all? In especial is it true of those British novelists to whom reference has just been made? As I have said, it has recently been asked, Who reads them now? To that question what is the true answer? The implied answer, of course, is that no one reads them or that their readers are getting yearly fewer. Now, with regard to Thackeray this may be the case or it may not be. I will speak about him presently, but with regard to Scott and Dickens there is no hesitation necessary. It may be said at once, and it may be said flatly, that it is not the case. They are not only still read by many people, but they are read by more people to-day than they ever were before. This fact is substantiated by the copies of their works that are sold; indeed, it stares us in the face at every railway book-store. Scott and Dickens, if measured by the number of their readers, are growing in popularity, not declining. How then, it may be asked, could the contrary opinion have arisen? It has arisen probably from the persons who gave expression to it having trusted to impressions derived from their own social observation; but in matters like this nothing can be more misleading.

The social observation even of those who have seen much of the world is limited, and is generally limited in more than one way. It is not limited only to certain classes, or certain sections of certain classes, but also to persons of the observer's own age or pursuits. It is, further, very often inaccurate. No doubt circles exist—and indeed I think it is probable that those composing them may consider themselves highly cultivated—in which Scott and Dickens are entirely unread and despised. Again, many of those who read them read them early in life, and the nature of their studies escapes older observers; while the very fact of a book's having been familiar to most

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people for half their lifetime is sufficient to prevent its being a preferred subject of conversation. When one lady asks another what she has been reading lately, she means what new trash fresh from the circulating library; and her friend would never, although it might be perfectly true, think of saying by way of answer, "Such a delightful book—'Guy Mannering.'" It is, therefore, very easy to see how certain persons, trusting merely to observation, may have derived the impression that Scott and Dickens are read no longer. They may have lived principally among those who actually do not read them; or they may have judged merely from contemporaries who read them long ago; or they may have thought them not read merely because they are not daily talked about. Anyhow, the fact remains that these persons are wrong. The great writers in question are read as much as and even more than ever. The only point there can be any doubt about is, By whom are they read?

To this question no complete answer can be given. Publishers can tell how many copies are sold, but they cannot tell us who are the ultimate buyers. That there is a demand for editions so cheap as to necessitate indifferent print and paper shows them to be read by multitudes who are at all events comparatively poor; while expensive editions prove the same thing as to the rich: but if we wish to arrive at any more detailed conclusions we shall have to fall back on the internal probabilities of the case, or on that personal observation which, as has just been said, must be so limited. By the internal probabilities of the case I mean this: I mean the degree to which the works of these two writers seem severally calculated by their style, subject, and tone to appeal to the various classes which make up the reading public. Judging of the matter in this way, my impression is that Scott makes a wider appeal than Dickens. Scott, in his own country certainly, is enjoyed by the poorest peasants; and there is little in his tone or his general treatment of life which might not be appreciated by the humblest classes quite as readily as by the highest.

But with Dickens I venture to think that this is not so. The humbler classes occupy on his canvas a far larger space than they do on that of Scott; but the aspect of these classes, which Dickens excels in describing, is not the aspect which these classes themselves see. I once, for instance, had a servant who by his Cockney humor and shrewdness often reminded me of Sam Weller or Mark Tapley. On one occasion when he was ill I bought him a "Martin Chuzzlewit" with pictures which called attention to the most amusing parts of the

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text. The man enjoyed the pictures, but though he was fond of reading, he found in the text nothing that made him even smile. And I might have expected this. The whole point of more than half of Dickens' writing depends on the fact that the manners and ways of thinking he describes differ from the manners and ways of thinking of those to whom he describes them. I conceive, therefore, with regard to these two writers, the probable truth to be that while there is no class which may not enjoy Scott, there must be a large class which is unable to enjoy Dickens. But in any case the public that still enjoys them both is as large and as national a public as ever enjoyed any author. To such general observations I have nothing further to add except a few results of my own personal observation, which the reader must take for what they are worth.

I do not speak of any sets or circles which are specially literary. What such sets read would be no general test. I speak merely of what is commonly meant by society—the fashionable word in its broader as well as its narrower sense—and I should certainly say that, so far as my own observation can inform me, no two writers are to this curiously composite body more universally familiar at this moment than Scott and Dickens. The old have read them; the young are reading them; nor need any one doubt the fact because they are not discussed like novelties. With regard to Dickens, for instance, I was lately at a country house where a party was staying composed of young guardsmen and young ladies whom the young guardsmen danced with at London balls. Literature of any kind was rarely mentioned by any of them; but some joke was made by some one—very good of its kind—consisting of an allusion to Dickens and intelligible only by a knowledge of him; and there was not a person present who did not understand and laugh at it. With regard to Scott, let any one visit in Scotland at the houses where in the autumn the London world is to be encountered. There is hardly a district in that country which is not associated with Scott and which does not naturally give some occasion to allude to him. A visitor at such houses will rarely be thrown with people to whom such allusions are not perfectly familiar, and who do not find their pleasure in the most romantic scenery heightened from being able to connect it with some incident in the Waverley novels.

But it seems to me needless to insist on the fact further that Scott and Dickens as writers are still in England as much alive as they ever were. Therefore, taking the fact for granted, we will proceed to

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inquire into the reason of it. If there is any truth in the observations I made at starting, it is a fact which at first sight is curious; for if ever there were writers who—to return to my original metaphor—painted their pictures with brushes dipped in the colors of the moment, of their own age, and of particular and peculiar localities, such were the colors employed by Scott and Dickens. How is it, then, that they still retain their freshness when even Goethe as a novelist from employing similar colors has lost so much of his? I believe the answer to be as follows: Just as it has been said that an original writer creates the taste by which he is to be appreciated, so certain novelists in describing their own times perpetuate the social atmosphere in which they are to be understood. They make each of their novels carry with it the light by which it was written. But other novelists do not do this, and their novels, when the circumstances under which they were written pass away from them, become dim like an unlit railway carriage when it moves out of a lighted station. Thus Scott or Dickens, when they told a story, not only told a story but surrounded it with a period and a locality. It is not only Pecksniff and Pickwick that Dickens has made immortal, but the England in which they lived. While as for "Werther" and "Wilhelm Meister," the characters indeed remain, their surroundings have disappeared—the manners of their localities, the problems of their age. We may find these indeed in history, but we do not find them in Goethe's novels.

Again, there are certain novelists—and Goethe was one of them—that deal with facts of their own times which, even if they could be perpetuated, would soon cease to be interesting; though many of them are facts which to the writer and his contemporaries may seem, and indeed may be, of the utmost moment. Such are any passing developments of religious, scientific, or social theories, or any movements based on them. A novel, for instance, like "Robert Elsmere" derives its whole interest from dealing with facts like these. The advance of biblical criticism or a wider knowledge of its results will turn this successful book into nothing but a protracted platitude. Indeed, Mrs. Ward and novelists like her may be said, in proportion as they succeed in their presumed object, not to create the taste by which they are to be appreciated, but to destroy it; and we may add, to put the matter in a more general way, that in proportion as any novel seems to have a special message to the age in which it is written, it is likely to have no message at all to any other. Now, of Scott it

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may be said without reservation, and of Dickens with few reservations, that the special message is in their works entirely absent. They give us life. They do not give us views of life, and this largely accounts for the absence in them of what is obsolete.

The above explanations, however, explain half of the matter only. They explain only why these writers have not ceased to be popular; they do not explain why they *are* popular. The answer to that is to be found in their extraordinary genius—extraordinary not in its greatness only, but in the area to which it was applied: and I continue to couple their names and speak of them both together because the point in which they both most differ from other novelists happens to be a point in which they singularly resemble one another. They are each of them national, in a sense and in a degree in which no other novelists or imaginative writers of any kind have been national. Scott has stamped his genius on an entire country; Dickens has stamped his (whether for good or evil) on an entire language.

Let us consider Scott's case first. It may safely be said that Scott is to his own country what no other writer ever has been to any country. Shakespeare no doubt may have been a greater genius than he, but Scott has done for Scotland what Shakespeare never did for England. Scotland from one end to the other is haunted with Scott's genius. The imaginary events of his novels have there almost taken the place of the actual events of history; and it is his novels rather than history that make it seem an historical country. A country small, remote, and till lately poor, with a population which recently was scarcely half that of contemporary London, and with manners and modes of thought peculiar in their severe provincialism—Scott has made it a country familiar to two hemispheres. Shakespeare may be said to go out to meet the imagination of strange readers; Scott compels the imagination of his readers to come to him among his own hills. Who when he visits Windsor thinks of Sir John Falstaff? Who when he visits Wigtonshire does not think of Guy Mannering? The Highland mountains are seen through an air enchanted and bewitched by Scott. Half the traffic on the Highland railway, if not the railway itself, is due to him; and but for him Inverness would probably be still an obscure village. One of the principal railway routes from London to Edinburgh is called by the name of one of his imaginary characters; and the historical name of a place in Lanarkshire has been cancelled and been replaced by the one which he gave in "Old Mortality." Of Hamlet it has been said that

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he is not *a* man but that he is man. Of Scott's characters it may be said that they are not men and women only, but a nation, and a nation in its own home. To him, in connection with Scotland, may be applied in literal truth some verses which I remember an excitable Oxford undergraduate years ago wrote about Mazzini and Italy:

> "His soul is mixed with the air which fills
> Her streets, and haunts her valleys and breathes free
> Upon the sacred heights of all her hills."

In short, Scott's novels are not fragments of life or pictures of life. They are life itself, clothed and corporeal with all its transitory and local realities; and to read these novels is less a study than an experience, and it is also an experience that is as vivid now as ever; for just as they have the breadth of a nation so have they the vitality of a nation.

And now let us turn to Dickens. I have said he resembles Scott in being, like Scott, national; but he was national in a different manner. He has not made England, as Scott made Scotland, his own topographically or historically. Scott saw the present as the result of the historical past, and in this way he gave it a new dimension. Dickens had no sense of the historical past at all, and presumably little knowledge of it; and this is probably the reason why, with the exception of London, few of the localities in which the action of his books lies have, as described by him, any strong local individuality. They are like England as he knew it, but not specially like any special parts of England. Every one sees how appropriately the name of "Waverley Route" is given to one of the railway routes in Edinburgh; but though some of the best-known incidents in "Pickwick" happened at Bath and Ipswich, who would think of calling a railway to either town the "Pickwick Route"? The incidents in question might have happened just as well at Cheltenham or at Exeter. Any old coaching inn recalls Dickens to us quite as much as the celebrated "Great White Horse." Scott's characters move in a concrete Scotland; those of Dickens move in an abstract England. Whereas Scott's scenes are individual, those of Dickens are representative; but they are not for that reason any the less truthful. They give us England as broadly and as nationally as Scott gives us Scotland. They reach the same result, but by another artistic method.

A deeper difference between the two writers is this—that the various aspects of life appeal to each in different degrees. What a mountain or an old castle was to Scott, a stage-coach or a lawyer's office

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was to Dickens. What the one accepted as a matter of course was to the other an object of ever fresh appreciation. Scott accepted the present; what he was consciously fascinated by was the past. With Dickens the case was the exact reverse of this. He accepted the past; it was the present by which he was consciously fascinated; and the past had no meaning for him except as connected with it. An old building for him was not like a dead man, but like an old man—an old man making faces either grotesque or sinister. For him everything was alive with the life of his own day. Houses, crooked courts, four-post bedsteads, cabs, portmanteaus, chimney-pots, and all inanimate objects winked at him, laughed with him, and spoke to him in the vernacular of the streets, and were forever saying to him something fresh and pungent. He had all the familiarity with the life around him that could be produced by the most close acquaintance with it; and yet he was always watching it with the surprise and expectant freshness which, as a rule, belong only to those to whom it is still a novelty. And this vision of his he communicated to his readers. He made them see not what they had not seen before, but what they had not noticed before. He made them conscious of their own unconscious observations. His genius acted on the surface of English life as spilt water acts on the surface of unpolished marble. It suddenly made visible all its colors and veinings; and in this way he may be said to have revealed England to itself: and he still does so.

It is true that this general statement must be made with one reservation. One part of English life was entirely beyond his grasp. He knew nothing of the highest class. He had no true knowledge even of the upper ranks of the middle class. His lords, his baronets, his majors, his ladies and gentlemen generally are not even like enough to reality to be called caricatures. But if we accept these classes and speak only of the bulk of the nation, no writer ever knew the English nation and represented the English nation so thoroughly and comprehensively as Dickens. His style is full of the faults of a man imperfectly educated. Errors of taste abound in it, and much of his sentiment is mawkish, or constrained, or false; and yet, in spite of this, not only do his writings embody the shrewdest, the truest, the widest, and the most various observations of the life around him, but they show him to be, in a certain sense, one of the greatest of English poets. In saying this I am making no allusion to any passages which sentimental admirers of him may consider poetical, or which he probably thought poetical himself. I am alluding to the manner in which,

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throughout his works, he not only presents what are commonly called the facts of life, but actually gives us that elusive atmosphere which in life surrounds these facts and imparts to them those changing aspects by which in life we know them; an atmosphere impregnated with wandering thoughts and sentiments and volatile associations—an element whch would seem to defy description. This Dickens has described. It penetrates his works and permeates them.

One example may be given, a single touch. He is describing some lawyer's office with dim, dusty windows, and among other details he notes this: that there was on the floor an enormous faded stain, "as if some by-gone clerk had cut his throat there and had bled ink." The whole past and present of the place is suggested in these few words, and what he felt and described in a lawyer's office he felt and described in nearly every scene he dealt with. He felt and he seized its human and, above all, its national meaning. He did this even in cases where it might be thought he would have failed to do so. I said he knew nothing of the highest upper classes; but in a certain way he understood their life as a factor in the life of the country, through certain of their surroundings. He knew the meaning and the sentiment of old English parks, of lodges, and gray gate-posts, damp and mottled with lichens. He knew the spirit which haunted the whispering avenue and hung above the twisted chimney-stacks and mullioned window of the hall; but his comprehension stopped at the front door. It was never at home inside. With this reservation, Dickens is England; and if he could not describe what the upper class see among themselves, he describes what they see whenever they go out of doors. To move out of the seclusion of polite life in England is to walk with Dickens. It is so still, as it was in his own days; and if any proof is needed in addition to those I have already mentioned, it may be found in the English language as spoken at this moment. Dickens' characters exist not in his books only. They have walked out of his books and taken their places among living people. Their looks and manners are social and not literary facts; their jokes and phrases are the common property of the nation. Of one other novelist only can this be said, and that novelist is Scott.

And now let us turn to Thackeray. Do his books still retain their vitality as those of Scott and Dickens do? What their sale may be now, as compared with what it was during the author's lifetime, I am not able to say. Certainly the eye is not constantly confronted with new editions of him as it is with new editions of Scott and Dickens.

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That fact, however, does not tell us much; for never at any time can he have appealed to a public so large as they did. To say this is to say nothing in derogation of his genius. The number of readers a writer has is not necessarily any indication of his greatness, or even of his influence. If it were, the author of "Robert Elsmere" or "The Mystery of a Hansom Cab" would be incomparably greater than Darwin or Mr. Herbert Spencer. Thackeray's readers were and are limited by the limitations of his subjects, by nothing else. He did much that Scott did not attempt and that Dickens could not ever have conceived; but for every million that can understand Scott and Dickens there are probably only a thousand that can understand Thackeray. His minute observation of the upper classes of his day is lost on persons to whom those classes are not familiar, partly because such persons do not recognize what he is dealing with, and partly because they are not interested in the questions with which he is most preoccupied. Indeed, of all great novelists Thackeray is the narrowest, not because the range of his vision is confined to the upper classes, for these viewed comprehensively form a complete microcosm and in many ways exhibit the problems and possibilities of life better than any other class; but because, accepting the upper classes as the world, he views them from one position only, and his view of them is extremely partial. Only a few of his characters he knows from the inside; all the rest he knows from the outside only. Men who were clients of the world or its victims, who were struggling with it or hostile to it—these men Thackeray knew from the inside. But the world itself, which for him meant the aristocratic class as a body—he was familiar with its aspect, but he never understood its spirit. Major Pendennis and his nephew, Rawdon Crawley, George Osborne, and Colonel Newcome—he knew these as if each of them were himself. Lord Steyne, Lord Bareacres, and Sir Pitt Crawley he knew merely as a vigilant witness. Hence the narrowness of his view as compared to Scott and Dickens. Hence he seems such a dwarf when placed beside them. And his narrowness of view finds another expression of itself in the fewness of his types of character. It has been well said, for instance, that he could draw but two women—the bad and the good, Becky Sharp being the prototype of the one and Amelia Sedley of the other.

All this, however, is mentioned merely to show why Thackeray's appeal to the world must have always been comparatively limited, and limited not only *to* the upper classes, but *among* them. Whether

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in process of time the number of his readers is diminishing, I repeat I am unable to say. A more important question is whether the interest with which he is read now is as fresh and vital as that with which he was read originally. I should say it was not; and I should say so for this reason, that as compared with Scott and Dickens he lacked the qualities by which the vitality of his work could be perpetuated. He lacked their extraordinary breadth and their extraordinary variety; he lacked the qualities that made them so peculiarly and so comprehensively national. They each gave us a nation—a nation which still lives; Thackeray gave us a fragment of a generation, which already is almost past. It is true that the social life described by Scott and Dickens strikes us as in some respects more remote from that of the present than the social life described by Thackeray; but Scott and Dickens have an art on which I have already commented. They surround their characters with the atmosphere in which they lived. That atmosphere is in the books themselves; it is not only in the reader's experience. And as for Pickwick, we are at once in the England of stage-coaches. Nothing seems strange; nothing old-fashioned. We are in a perennial present. But with Thackeray the case is quite different. His characters live, but they seem to live in a vanished or vanishing world. The bachelor haunts, for instance, of his heroes, such as "the Old Slaughters," are to this generation mere shadows of unremembered names. The haunts of Dickens' heroes, though they belong to the past also, are as distinct and vivid to us as they were to those who frequented them.

W. H. Mallock.

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BRANDY AND SOCIALISM: THE GOTHENBURG PLAN.

THE phrase "Brandy and Socialism" accurately expresses both the fact and the purpose of the Gothenburg system of controlling the sale of spirits in Sweden and Norway. The word brandy—a strong liquor distilled from corn or potatoes—represents that to which this legislation chiefly applies. The method of selling is socialistic in the strict sense of allowing no private person to make profit for himself out of the liquor sales. The profits go straight to the community for public uses.

The announcement has been made that a bill will be brought in at the next Parliament to try this system in England. One of the leading dignitaries of the church, the Bishop of Chester, sent to the "Times," August 20, a letter in which he boldly says that the time has come for a trial of this method. In "prohibition" merely he sees no hope of any widely efficient and practical dealing with the question. The large influence of this bishop and his long and intelligent interest in the "drink question" have given to the issue its unusual prominence. Several vigorous efforts have been already made in England to arouse general interest in this Swedish plan. Investigations were made into its workings before the report of the House of Lords in 1879 appeared. The whole spirit of this report is strikingly like that which now comes from Dr. Jayne, the Bishop of Chester. Several years earlier Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, whose practical genius for successful municipal reforms is believed to be unmatched in England, had carefully studied this Swedish plan. His conversion was complete and he determined to introduce its essential features into Birmingham. The cry "Too much centralization" was raised against it. That it was "socialistic" in its nature was also felt to be a danger. Since Mr. Chamberlain's first interest in this scheme the English cities have had so many and such successful experiences in controlling "natural monopolies" of various sorts that the word "socialistic" has lost its terrors. But of even greater importance is the rapid rise of the County Council, which offers such security for the exercise of local rights and influences that the cry of "centralization" also has

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lost its force. This is the reason why the Bishop of Chester considers the time propitious for a new attempt.[1]

It is of course not proposed to introduce the new system without such modifications as local conditions and traditions in England would demand. The term "Gothenburg System" is moreover used, as it should be, to include the changes and developments which have grown out of it, especially in Norway, since 1865, when it was introduced. What then is this system? A word of history will make both it and the results attained under it much clearer. At least eighty years of diversified and often despairing legislation antedate this experiment. From 1811 practically every corn-grower was allowed to be his own distiller. In spite of the swift and wide-spread evils of this *régime*, in spite of an increasing pauperism which none could deny, every attempt to restrict this "liberty of trade" was met by the old cry against "interference of the law with private business." Probably two hundred thousand people were making profits from distilling alone. In 1824 the resulting evils were so appalling that bold measures were taken to restrict "free distilling for home use," though little was gained, as private profit could still everywhere be made. In 1830 more than one hundred and seventy thousand stills existed in Sweden. Severe measures were taken which reduced the number to something like forty thousand in 1850. This change prevented a multitude of small people from making profits, but it enabled the few richer men to make all the more without the least restriction in the manufacture or consumption. In 1855 a further step was taken which gave each community the right to prevent the existence of all non-licensed brandy traffic of retail and public-house character. Licenses were sold at auction to "men of character" alone. Household distillation was converted into a sharply-supervised manufacture which was more highly taxed. Neither friend nor foe of the later legislation denies that great good came of this change. The traffic was confined to more responsible men, who were forced to do business under conditions open to criticism of an alert and powerful public sentiment.

A very familiar result, however, soon meets us. In the town ways were soon enough discovered by which the most essential provisions

[1] Dr. Gould, who is just finishing an exhaustive inquiry into the Gothenburg system for a report soon to be forwarded to Col. Carroll D. Wright at the United States Bureau of Labor in Washington, recently wrote me: "I have found an almost unanimous opinion among all classes that the system, as compared with the old one, is an amazing improvement. This is my own opinion without qualification."

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of the law were avoided. As a shrewd money-lender can manage any usury law that can be framed, so the spirit-dealers, having to do with a passion so powerful as that for intoxicants, could easily circumvent their obstacles. One of the most splendid fights in the history of temperance had gone on for twenty years. The first discovery (about 1857) that this last legislation was after all not likely to lessen greatly or permanently the pauperism and misery seems to have been followed by a moment of despair. Dr. Wieselgren's visits among the working people of Gothenburg, then having a population of thirty-five thousand, convinced him that if the "upper classes" could have the actual results brought vividly before them they might be stirred to use their strength for a radical change. A petition of nearly nine thousand signers was sent to the magistrates for important changes. The manner of its refusal excited indignation among a few men of commanding influence. A committee was appointed to make an exhaustive report upon the social condition of the city. Editors, lawyers, physicians were brought into the discussion. For the first time among men of large social influence the new thought found expression: "As long as private individuals or companies can make profits from the sales, ways will be found to spread the use of spirits." With such a passion as that for drink it was found socially unsafe to allow people to make money by satisfying its cravings.

No kind of theory or speculation as to state and private functions preceded this conclusion. The connection between private money-making and over-stimulated sales was direct and decisive. Innumerable tricks and ingenious devices appeared through which the man whose gain depended upon it could, despite the law, meet the wants of his customers. In their report the committee struck straight at the evil. Instead of selling licenses by auction, it was proposed to hand over the entire business to a company that should give proper guarantees to make no profits. In one of the most careful studies yet made of this reform by Dr. Wieselgren it is said:

> "To bring about a much-needed reform in this matter, the petitioners had formed a company, under the name of 'The Gothenburg Licensing Company,' with a view to taking over all such public-house licenses as should fall in, reserving to themselves the right of applying to some purpose conducive to the well-being of the working classes such profits as might exceed the net proceeds, which they were bound to hand over, and likewise freely to decide how many of the public-house licenses should be made use of and in which parts of the town they should be exercised."

After the Town Council had considered the proposal and approved

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of it by twenty-nine votes against twelve, it was sanctioned by the magistrates, and thirty-six licenses were duly made over by the governor of the province on June 8, 1865. On August 22, the same year, the company's statutes received the royal assent, and on October 1 it commenced operations. These have since been in full activity and were even extended when, from October 1, 1874, the retail traffic in brandy and other distilled spirituous liquors was handed over to the company. On renewing its contract in 1868 the company saw fit to relinquish its claim to devote its surplus profits to some purpose conducive to the welfare of the working classes; so that after the said year the whole net proceeds were handed over to the community.

For capital that had to be invested by the company a fit interest was allowed. In a quarter of a century neither director nor shareholder in this company has made a farthing of profit. The gains go directly to the public treasury for the common good, and the individual is deprived of one of the strongest and subtlest motives for increasing the sales. These motives are, moreover, turned to social uses in yet another way. Before this legislation the so-called "eating-houses" found the profits so much higher upon their spirits than upon food that either none or very poor food was kept. The new administration made it a primary condition that a variety of wholesome foods should be kept on hand, together with tea, cocoa, chocolate, milk, and other nourishing beverages. Upon these and not upon spirits the profits must be made, so that it becomes the seller's interest to sell only food and healthful drinks. It was a rare compliment to the new *régime* when a workman was heard to say: "Our bar-tender is not polite when he gives us spirits, but only when he sells us food and pap." A bar-tender is reported to have said: "That rascally company has made me a temperance crank in spite of myself."

As the active help of the most respected firms and business men of Gothenburg was enlisted in this work, the City Council received so strong a support as to enable it to carry through such radical changes as were necessary to the success of the scheme. A very ruinous system of selling upon credit was instantly stopped and only cash payments allowed. Purchases by pawn were also done away with. Every obscure resort to which the police had difficult access was closed, and open, well-ventilated places licensed. Instead of one bar for seven hundred and eighty-five inhabitants, only one for one thousand and ninety-three was allowed. No selling was permitted to persons under age and none but a state-tested, unadulterated liquor sold. Important

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restrictions were at once put upon the time of selling. No late sales were allowed, while the traffic on Sundays and holidays was sharply controlled. The common custom of the seller to drink with his customer ceased. The wife of a vender puts in the evidence: "If it has done no other good it has stopped my husband coming home half-drunk every night." It is vital to note that the above evils are all such as in some form would continue just as long as individual profits depended upon the amount sold. The whole motive for their continuance falls out when the seller gets from credit, long hours, etc., nothing but his pains. Why should one sell to a drunkard or to a minor if nothing is gained by it? The London "Spectator," which takes up the cause, says in a recent issue:

"The police difficulty would be met under the new system in more ways than one. In the first place, the manager would be the servant of the community, and the community, as would be shown by the very fact of its buying up the public-houses, would be thoroughly determined to discourage drunkenness by every means in its power. Consequently the manager would know that by permitting drunkenness he ran the risk of losing his employment, . . . nor would the manager himself be under any inducement to run the risk. The Bishop of Chester suggests that the manager's pay should in part take the form of a commission upon every article sold except alcoholic liquors. . . . He would have a distinct interest in making the supply of *non*-alcoholic drinks abundant and attractive, and in pushing the consumption of them rather than of their alcoholic rivals. . . . Again, as brewers came to realize that the whole interest of the manager of a public-house was to encourage drinking which does not lead to drunkenness at the cost of drinking which does lead to it, they would be led to brew beer of less alcoholic strength."

During the first ten years of trial, innumerable practical difficulties appeared of a character so serious as to defeat some chief aims of the scheme. Two of these cannot here be left unnoticed. The first was the question of compensation, over which a prolonged and stubborn fight had to be waged. It was a distinct issue of private *versus* public interest in which the public would have been worsted but for the pressure of a new and powerful moral sentiment that the long struggle had aroused. It was at no time denied that fair compensation should be made, but the strongest claims for "good-will" and "reasonable expectation" were thwarted. The second difficulty was to meet and sustain the attack of a gigantic business interest headed by the "Brandy King," Lars Olsson Smith. The first unfailing sign that the new plan was succeeding was the desperate energy and hostility which this ring soon began to show. No weapon that great wealth, high political influence, picturesque and unctuous charity reforms could furnish

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was left unused. It was one of the most envenomed and dramatic struggles that the history of the temperance movement can show. The interests of country and town were often so divergent—the towns seeming to gain what the country lost—that adroit and telling use was made of the fact. These difficulties were at any rate so far mastered by 1877 that we are able from that date to pass closer judgment upon the results of the new management. To trace such improvement as there is to this system alone would of course be an absurdity. The teetotallers who object to it rendered heroic service in creating the public sentiment without which no reform could have prospered. Much must be allowed also to general educational and scientific progress. Distinct improvement is also observable before the system was applied. The most generous allowance, however, to all these other influences leaves upon any dispassionate investigator the strongest conviction that the Gothenburg method has powerfully assisted at every step in the progress.

The reports show, first, that cases of *delirium tremens* have in seventeen years sunk from one hundred and thirty-one yearly to forty-nine. Here, if the great increase of population is taken into account, is an improvement of more than sixty per cent. The changes in consumption of spirits appear in the following table from the company's report:

Year.	Amount Consumed, in Litres.	Population.	Consumed per Head, in Litres.
1877	1,732,589	63,391	27.33
1889	1,568,154	97,677	16.06

In 1890 the British minister at Stockholm, Sir F. H. Plunkett, was asked for a further report, which was made to Lord Salisbury in October of that year. Help was rendered by the various consuls and by the chief of police in Stockholm. The conclusions are indicated by the following words taken from the report:

"The last fourteen years have been marked by a steady diminution: (1) in consumption of spirits per head of the population; (2) in the convictions for drunkenness (proportionately to the population); (3) in the number of cases of delirium tremens. In 1876 the total amount of spirits, native and foreign, consumed in Gothenburg was 28.90 litres per head of the population. In 1889 it was 16.05 litres."

Dr. Baer, of Berlin, in his statistical inquiries into drunkenness in different nations, confirms these results. He finds Sweden traditionally given to drink as almost no other people, yet adds that the recent improvements there and in Norway are unequalled in any other country. His careful comparisons extend to fourteen countries. No one

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has brought to this question a more unbiassed spirit than an English engineer who has spent twenty years in Norway. He was induced in 1890 to write out his experience in a pamphlet of ninety-six pages, "Local Option in Norway," in which he gives the reasons why he was converted. He says: "The nearly twenty years' experience of the working of this system has enabled me to realize how mistaken my original views were." In a letter published in the "Times," September 2, 1892, Mr. Wilson restates his belief, adding of the facts that "they conclusively point to improved habits in the people and reduced consumption per head of the population." The same favorable opinion was expressed after examination in Bergen by the Earl of Meath only a year ago.

But no fair judgment of this whole matter can be formed without dealing unflinchingly with certain limitations, dangers, and positive weaknesses. The master-stroke we have seen lies in depriving the individual of profit; but the temptation to have much liquor sold is not therefore removed. We have only substituted a *group* selfishness for an individual one. It is still for the direct advantage of the taxpayers in the community to have the proceeds from liquor sales as large as possible in order that taxes may be lower. I heard a rich Swede discourse at a sumptuous dinner over his bottle of champagne upon these "proofs of success." "We raise our taxes without any difficulty," he said. It needs no illustration to show what a subtle and all-pervading force of temptation is here brought to bear upon the average citizen. That the danger is real, not in theory alone, but in fact, no one will deny who has studied the situation. Is the selfish advantage of a collective body less dangerous than that of the single individuals who compose the body? No calculations other than speculative are here possible. That so direct an interest of the group is a danger will not be questioned. Our faith that the socialized advantage is an advance upon the narrower individual one is in the fact that the weakness has been more and more clearly recognized. It is precisely here that the strongest word may be spoken in favor of the new plan. Though it is for the taxpayer's good to have these large resources at command, this method, being a public one open to every inspection and in the keeping of the most responsible citizens, *is by this very fact of being out in the light far more accessible to the action and influence of public opinion.*

It is a commonplace of the situation that progress in temperance depends at every step upon a convinced public opinion; so that the first practical issue of the problem is to get our temperance method into

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that position where public sentiment can act and be acted upon with greatest directness and efficiency. In any plea that is made for the Swedish plan serious difficulties must be admitted. The more ardent friends have as wildly overstated its benefits as its enemies have been blind to its advantages. The kind of enthusiasm for the "Swedish Solution" which showed itself both in England and Germany ten or twelve years ago was full of exaggeration. The soberer and more critical attitude that it is now possible to take shows us that the best hope here offered us is not so much in any actual achievement of lessened sales. Our plea should be rather that this system—compared with private-profit selling—gives us a far safer basis for an aggressive and efficient education upon this liquor question of public opinion. The present alliance of "rum and politics" stifles the very beginnings of the most effective agitation.

To see how vital this point is, let any one consider the relation that exists in large cities between the rum interest and political influence. This interest in Boston is said to represent above ninety million dollars. We know what this means for debased city management. We know the part played by the bar-rooms in every election. We know that our cities are in dangerous measure under the control of the rum interest, so that many of the most pressing political reforms are killed at the start. It is probably far less appreciated that some of the most-needed social reforms, like that fundamental one of tenement-house improvement, are baffled for the same reason. To take this rum interest out of politics would open ways at once both for political and social improvements. It is of course not maintained that our larger cities are now in the keeping of officials to whom it would be safe to intrust the large revenues from liquor sales. Any friend of the Gothenburg System would only first apply it to those smaller communities where an intelligent and vigorous temperance sentiment already exists. He would, moreover, try it not as a "solution," but as an experiment, to see what results it might furnish. In cities like Cambridge, Brockton, Haverill, Mass., that are able for successive years to vote prohibition, it would be (as compared with England or Germany) an enormous advantage that the question of compensation for vested rights would present scarcely a difficulty. In centres with so strong a sentiment we have the proof that municipal control would be guarded in such a way as to keep the liquor issue far freer from secret and dangerous political control. So far as the issue would be still in politics, it would at least be so much more in the open that the fight could be

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conducted with immeasurably more hope both of practical results and of reaching the sources of public opinion. Nor is it any answer to say that the old town license met these conditions. It is only within recent years that a public sentiment adequate to cope with these difficulties even existed. Brockton, Mass., is, among others in the State, an example of a city (nearly thirty thousand inhabitants) that has a sentiment strong enough and instructed enough to give a hopeful trial to this plan. Yet the legislature has several times refused to allow her even to experiment with the plan. The citizens for four years vote prohibition simply because the town seems to the best judges a little better off than under license to people who make profits out of it. Yet absolute prohibition has such evident embarrassments and even absurdities that a demand, as in other towns, has grown for the Gothenburg plan. An active total-abstinence party objecting conscientiously to the plan would probably be willing to yield so far as to see the experiment tested. Many of the most influential of this party in England have assured the Bishop of Chester of their support upon these grounds that the experiment is worth making.

Another striking advantage that these American conditions offer must next be dealt with. The developments of this system in Norway best show what may be done both to meet new exigencies and overcome old defects. As has been said, it soon came to light in Sweden that the public revenues were a danger from the very fact that taxation was so lightened. The Norwegians in adopting the plan resolved to deal boldly with this peril. They therefore determined to make the taxpayers' interest in the liquor revenue as slight and indirect as possible. Instead of turning all the profits into the town treasury, they were used as far as possible to support and establish social improvements depending chiefly on *voluntary* support. We have seen that it was the original purpose in Gothenburg to use the revenues largely "for the benefit of the working classes." This was early found (I think in 1868) to be impracticable and was given up. The act was bitterly criticised, but it should be said that at that date far too little was known about safe methods of spending large sums of money for a sort of continuous institutional charity or philanthropy. It is doubtful if it could be done even yet without working serious injury to the very class for which it was meant. The spread of the Elberfeld system of charity, the new schools for artistic and technical training, the building of tenement-houses, etc., are just coming to offer many wiser and safer ways in which considerable revenues can be safely invested

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for distinctively social ends. For such purposes Norway, not with perfect but evidently with large measure of success, is trying some of the most interesting of social experiments. Among the objects for which the liquor revenues are spent we find aid for every new type of charity that could not get town help. A park is enlarged, baths are improved, total-abstinence societies assisted in their agitation, reformatories of educational character for the young have been constructed, even dwellings for workingmen have been built and sold to them, libraries have been started, children sent to the country for summer holidays, and primary students to technical schools. These are but a part of the objects helped by these funds. An English visitor has reported to the "Times" his satisfaction in finding how much artistic interests of the higher-trade instruction are furthered by these means. He finds at the Copenhagen Exhibition skilled workmen "who each undertook within six months after his return to write an essay describing certain improvements in his own trade as seen at the exhibition—such essays to be printed and circulated at the cost of the company. The grants to these objects are separately voted at the annual meeting of the company's shareholders, and so many people are anxious to help in this good work that the shares are over one hundred per cent premium," etc. Would any one claim that these uses of profits from the liquor traffic were not immeasurably more advantageous to society than the uses to which private profits are put by our dealers and rings?

As our judgment must be based upon this later Norwegian development rather than upon the earlier experience, Mr. Wilson's conclusions after twenty years' observation are of great value. Since 1871 fifty-one societies have formed for the entire control of spirit-licenses. In five towns, by the action of local option, no license whatever has been granted, so that no retailing of liquor exists in them. Taking into account the growth of population, Mr. Wilson shows in the following table in what measure the consumption of spirits diminished as the public companies gradually took all sales into their hands:

NUMBER OF SOCIETIES IN OPERATION ON THE FIRST OF JANUARY.

1875.	1876.	1877.	1879.	1880.	1882.	1886.	1887.	1889.
15	22	30	35	41	44	49	50	51

In the subjoined table we show the progress in the *diminution of the home consumption* of ardent spirits which has taken place in Nor-

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way in the period the societies have been established and operating up to December 31, 1887, the latest statistical date at present available:

Year.	Total Home Consumption of Ardent Spirits.
1876.....	12,300,000 litres.
1888.....	5,200,000 "

In all such estimates as this large allowances must be made for other causes of improvement, as the reported decrease in "rum diseases" may be largely owing to improved medical skill. The friends of this system have in the discussion allowed too little for the action of concurrent influences. It seems nevertheless impossible to deny that the public as against private irresponsible control represents a gain both of method and result that is distinct and real. Of the general surroundings in Norway Mr. Wilson says:

"The question of personal profit from the trading being entirely excluded in the societies' operations, the public are offered no attractions in the bars beyond genuine liquors. There are no bright, comfortable gin-palaces or seductive bar-maids to attract the thirsty soul. The bars are simply plain rooms fitted with a counter and shelves for glasses, etc. There are no seats for the customers, and they are not permitted to loiter on the premises; they must consume their dram at once and leave immediately. There is no chalking up of scores to be paid off when pay-day comes round. The business is strictly for cash. Any one creating a disturbance or appearing the worse for liquor is not served. Children are not allowed upon the premises and can therefore not be used as messengers to procure liquors; besides which the societies supply liquors only in their own glasses and bottles. Youths younger than sixteen or seventeen years are not served. Only a reasonable quantity of spirits is served at a time to any customer, and not such a quantity as in the opinion of the bar-tender would be likely to produce intoxication. The prices of the liquors sold are not more expensive than when the private licenses conducted the trade; they are fixed by the societies, subject to the approval of the municipal council, so that the public interest is perfectly protected in that matter too. The tariff of prices is hung up in the bars for the inspection of the customers. Only men of trustworthy character are appointed by the societies, but subject to the approval of the municipal council. They are clad in a uniform, each man with a number on his collar, like a policeman, to enable his identification in case of a customer having any complaint to make."

As very careful reports have been made upon Bergen a word should be given to it. A direct attempt is there making to secure for the public the "beer privileges." The Gothenburg System rests on the assumption that for any future over which we have influence the majority of people will have spirits in some form. It assumes that so long as this is the case all prohibitory laws of absolute character will

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be defeated. It does not therefore try to stop the sale of spirits. Its only aim is the strictly practical one of so checking and regulating sales as to reduce to the utmost the social misery caused by intemperance. Thus beer not being considered such cause was not included under the term "brandy," to which this legislation applies. It has been everywhere asserted that the heavier liquors would be driven out by a larger use of light wines and beers. Unless Bavaria may be a possible exception, none of the more northerly countries seem to furnish any evidence whatever of this ethic of the brewer and the wine-grower. Sweden and Norway present in this respect a curious spectacle which furnishes argument for both parties. Since the companies prevent all private persons from making money from the sales of spirits, the increase in the use of *beer* has grown widely and steadily. Is it in part because less spirits are used or chiefly because innumerable people have a chance to make money from the sales and thus spread the use of it? Whatever conclusion is drawn, an account of the enterprising ways through which the private venders bring their products to every home shows conclusively that individual profit-making is a powerful factor in spreading the use of beer. This has brought to the front a new problem. Why should not beer also be included by the company in order to turn these growing profits to public objects? Why should not the same relative improvement follow here as in the case of spirits? An idea may be gained of the extension of the beer traffic from the most recent Norwegian statistics:

1887,	the use of	beer	was	34,777,000	litres.
1888,	"	"	"	40,359,000	"
1889,	"	"	"	41,516,200	"
1890,	"	"	"	49,422,200	"
1891,	"	"	"	59,019,100	"

A long-recognized authority upon this question, the present Chief of Prisons in Stockholm, shows that the dangerous increase of beer-drinking in Sweden is producing results in drunkenness of so serious a character as to imperil the entire temperance work. While punishments for drunkenness from spirits have steadily decreased in Stockholm and Gothenburg, drunkenness traced directly to the beer-shops has grown "*in erschreckendem Grade*" ("at a frighful rate")—from four hundred and forty-two cases in Gothenburg in 1882 to seven hundred and fifty-three cases in 1889. Dr. Wieselgren considers the individual vender and the profits made by private distribution as the chief cause of this great extension of beer-drinking. He adds:

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"Nothing is clearer than that the wall which the Gothenburg System has set up against intoxication is in a good way to be broken down, not by spirits but by beer." The public take the profit from spirits and decrease the sales. Private individuals distribute the beer for personal gain and the sales increase with the fatal rapidity which the above figures indicate. It is impossible to misread the significance of this fact. To reform this evil the directors in Bergen have proposed to take the first steps by using the revenue from spirits to get control of the beer privileges. A final word should be said of Bergen, as a most minute and thorough study has been made of this question there by Dr. Wilson.

Apprehensions for drunkenness fell from one thousand and thirteen in 1877 to seven hundred and twenty-nine in 1889. The consumption has also steadily decreased. Among the fifty-three charitable and public objects to which large portions of the revenue have been given we find heavy subscriptions for tree-planting, public museums, the various total-abstinence societies, local and national; public library, laborers' waiting-rooms, at which no liquor is sold; seamen's home; above twelve thousand dollars to the Lloyd School for teaching handicrafts to boys and girls, to thirteen different educational institutions (other than the public schools), to museums of industrial art, artisans' exhibition fund, etc. The coffee-houses owe their origin to this source. A town of fifty thousand inhabitants has in thirteen years had at its disposal for such objects nearly four million dollars which would have gone under the *régime* of private profits to distillers and private venders. Mr. Wilson says: "There is really not a tithe of the wretchedness, squalid misery, and poverty so prevalent in English towns of similar size." He traces the result chiefly to this public control of spirits.

Under conditions that are distinctly more hopeful than those which Sweden and Norway offer, can any good reason be given why, in a question of such appalling perplexity, we should not have the advantage of such experience as an honest trial of this system would yield us?

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS.

SWEDEN, 1892.

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THE ARTISTIC TRIUMPH OF THE FAIR-BUILDERS.

THE unanimous voice of the thousands of people from all parts of the country who have visited Chicago during the past year and seen the great Fair being built declares that it will be—nay, that it already is—a wonderful success from the artistic point of view. Their testimony has, I think, shown all intelligent Americans that Chicago will triumph just where they may have thought her most likely to fail, and has convinced them that the Exhibition, taken as a whole, will be a very beautiful sight. Nevertheless, most persons who have merely heard what others could tell them do not yet realize the true quality and meaning of the beauty of the Fair, or appreciate what an insistent demand it will make upon their attention. They know that there are always many beautiful sights to be enjoyed during the months of summer, and they think that they may choose this one or another, without much consideration, as whim, habit, convenience, or the state of their pocket-books may suggest.

Therefore one who realizes what the interest of the Fair will actually be feels that no duty is clearer than the duty of making it manifest. It will be a misfortune and disgrace if the committees and artists who are working so devotedly and well fail of their due meed of comprehension and applause, and a still greater misfortune and disgrace if the American people fail to profit fully by their efforts. Of course no one can hope really to explain just what this great Exhibition will be, for there are no adequate terms of comparison and illustration to use. But it is possible at least to record the impression which, even in their incomplete state, the Fair grounds have made upon one's own eye and mind, and to give a few reasons why no intelligent American, and none who wishes to become intelligent, should fail to visit them next summer.

This Fair of ours, in its general aspect and judged from the artistic point of view, is not only much more successful than, two years ago, we believed it could be; it is much more successful than any that has ever been created in this or another land. It is not only comparable

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to the beautiful Paris Exhibition of 1889, and not only equal to it; it is greatly superior. And its excellence is not an imitation or even an adaptation of any precedent, but has been achieved upon entirely new and original lines. It is perfectly certain that every one who goes to Chicago next summer will be astonished, no matter how much he may have heard and believed in advance; and it is just as certain that he will be charmed, no matter how good or how captious his taste may be. Indeed, the more intelligent he is, and the more intimate is his acquaintance with general questions of art and with the character of previous international exhibitions, the more he will be amazed and delighted. Only those who know how hard it is to produce a high degree of beauty on a vast scale and in complicated ways will fully appreciate what they see at Chicago, realizing that the difficulties which always exist were in this case increased by the necessity of absolutely creating an appropriate site for the buildings. They, and only they, will fully understand that they are beholding one of the most beautiful of sights and, considering its genesis, distinctly the most wonderful sight, in the world—a sight the character of which, I am unafraid to say, has not been paralleled since the Rome of the Emperors stood intact with marble palace, statue, terrace, bridge, and temple, under an Italian sky no bluer than our own.

Of course, big as it is, our Fair is a small place compared to imperial Rome; and fine though its structures are, some of them show conspicuous faults. But taken as a whole, considered as a great complex yet single work of art, viewed as a vast panorama of stately architectural and natural features, I believe that no place of its extent in the modern world has been so impressive, so magnificent, so imperial in its beauty. It seems an astounding fact that it can really exist. It seems a miracle that it can have come to life within the space of two years. It is impossible to think that a spectacle of equal beauty will again be created in our lifetime; for in no other city will the designers of an exhibition have at command the shores and waters of a veritable ocean, and from the admirable use made of these shores and waters a large part of the beauty as well as the originality of the Chicago Exhibition has sprung. Man had here to conquer Nature in one of her most recalcitrant moods. But having conquered her, the result is more admirable as well as more individual than could have been any result won by a less desperate struggle.

This, then, is the first answer to the query whether it will be "worth while" to visit Chicago next summer even if it does not seem

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convenient: It will be if you care to see one of the most nobly beautiful and distinctly the most interesting of the existing creations of the hand of man. But there is another answer which should reinforce this one: It will be worth your while to take a great deal of trouble and make many sacrifices to visit the Fair if you care to learn, in a very short time, more about certain very important matters than months of home study or foreign travel could teach you—to gain much valuable knowledge and many fruitful impressions which there has never before been such an opportunity of gaining, and probably never will be in the future while you live.

It is well, I think, to make as clear as possible this distinction between the mere pleasure and the instruction which a sight of the Fair will afford. We can imagine a very pretty, charming, and amusing exhibition which, except as its art-collections might exert a nobler influence, would not teach us much about art. We can imagine a site made picturesque by the hand of Nature which would tell us nothing more than that a naturally picturesque is better than a naturally ugly site. And we can fancy it covered with buildings, gayly attractive to the untutored and possibly even to the tutored eye, which would not show what true architectural excellence is, or, much less, that harmony in variety is the highest result attainable in a complicated artistic undertaking. But the aspect of the Columbian Fair will be very different from this, and I wish especially to emphasize the fact because I think the American public likes even better to inform and cultivate than to amuse itself; because I think that to lay stress upon the educational value of the Fair is to use the best means of persuading all Americans that they ought to visit it.

In the first place, it will show that very unpromising natural materials can be mastered by men, if they are true artists, and turned to the account of noble beauty. From any elevated point on the Fair grounds you will see a limitless expanse of water to the eastward and a limitless expanse of flat prairie to the westward. You will already know that much of the ground immediately beneath you was not even solid, ugly prairie, but treacherous marsh. And looking over this ground now—here with its straight, stately, wide canals and architectonic terraces, and there with its irregularly-shaped lagoons and islands —you will understand how a great artist like Mr. Olmsted can absolutely create in a way which almost equals Nature's own. To-day it seems a simple enough idea—this bringing in the lake to solidify the

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land, this digging channels for the water and using the earth that was taken out to give the building sites consistency. But it was one of those very simple ideas which only a great man conceives, and one of those very practical ideas which only an artist conceives. That is, while a practical man might have seen the feasibility of the scheme, only an artist could have seen its desirability; and only a great artist could have been impelled to insist upon executing it by foreseeing how diversified beauty—variety in harmony—could thus be secured even better than upon a more naturally advantageous site. Mr. Olmsted is the only man in this country or in any country, I believe, who could have foretold how, by making use of that lake-overflow which seemed to others a fatally negative fact, he might prepare for formal, architectonic beauty of effect in one portion of the grounds, and for irregular, picturesque beauty in another portion, and yet might so associate and harmonize the two that the transition from his straight quays and canals to the varied outlines of his islands and lagoons would become the finest feature of the magnificent whole. Furthermore, while thus actually creating a great part of the site, Mr. Olmsted, assisted by Mr. Henry Codman, has created a great part of the vegetation which clothes its more picturesque tracts, covering lagoon-shores and islands, in the space of two seasons, with green growing things that look as though Nature herself had planted them a long while ago.

When the character of the Fair site is thus studied a great lesson in art will have been learned as it could not be elsewhere in the world to-day. The visitor will see that, despite the intensely practical character of the enterprise, artists were needed at the very outset; he will see that when architectural works are in question the ground-plan is of primary importance; and also that in preparing it the architect should ask the aid of the landscape-architect. As this is the first, so it will be one of the most valuable of all the lessons that the Fair will teach. I think no individual success achieved on these vast and varied grounds will be so fruitfully instructive as Mr. Olmsted's; for of all the arts, the art of landscape-gardening is the one that Americans least appreciate—the one whose importance they always underestimate even when, by a rare chance, they recognize its existence. The example set by the organizers of the Fair in employing Mr. Olmsted before they employed any one else ought to bear immediate fruit all over the country, among private owners of domains wide or narrow, as well as among architects and public officials. One has only

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to fancy what a Fair at Chicago must have been without Mr. Olmsted's help to understand how, in a corresponding degree, lesser enterprises may profit from similar help.

The next lesson will be with regard to the need for concordant effort in complicated architectural undertakings. Perhaps, had each of the great Fair buildings been built in independence of all the others, each would have been in itself as majestic, as scholarly, as beautiful as most of them are to-day. But they would not have been by any means the same buildings that we see to-day; and their general effect would have been the effect of the typical American street or square where good buildings chance to stand, only greatly magnified and therefore with all faults of awkward contrast and inharmonious association greatly emphasized. Any one of us can point to good and beautiful buildings in American towns; but can any one think of a single satisfactory large group or long perspective? Beautiful groups, beautiful perspectives, a stupendously beautiful architectural panorama is what the Fair will show us. It will be the first real object-lesson America has had in the art of building well on a great scale; and it will show us how, on a smaller but still sometimes a very large scale, our permanent streets and squares ought to be designed. The most careless eye will understand why this vast architectural panorama looks so well. Every one will see that it is because, although many architects were at work, they worked together in brotherly accord—by no means crushing out their artistic personalities, but basing the expression of individual tastes upon a broad fundamental agreement with regard to the placing, the general style, and the dimensions of the structures, and the scale of their major features. Every one will understand that this was the only way in which harmonious variety of effect could have been secured, and that no kind of inharmonious diversity could have been so agreeable or impressive, however admirable the individual structures might have been. And he will see that while the panorama as a whole is so magnificent because of its unity, the beauty of each structure is enhanced because the beauty of its neighbors agrees with it.

I think also that intelligent observers will feel that for the chief group of buildings the best possible architectural scheme was chosen. No other styles could have served so well as these allied yet not identical Renaissance styles in giving the architects a chance to build in agreement with each other and yet to meet special practical needs and express individual tastes. The essential dignity, the truly modern

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spirit, and the practical as well as æsthetic plasticity of Renaissance architecture will be convincingly displayed; and, despite the fact that these buildings are not just like the ones we need to shelter our daily lives and works, their aspect ought to prove that Renaissance forms of art are the best for current use. If this be proved, then one great step will have been taken toward the achievement in our towns of that harmony in variety which alone can make them beautiful. Modern English architecture has been hampered by a strong leaning, sentimental rather than reasonable, toward Gothic fashions, inappropriate alike to the intellectual temper and to the practical needs of our time. American architecture has been hampered by an unbridled wilfulness of effort, a perpetual seeking for novelties in the shape of crude inventions or of revivals of unfamiliar ancient architectural types. The sooner our profession agrees upon some broad general basis for the exercise of its exceptionally strong powers of invention, the sooner we are likely to achieve a well-developed coherent national form of art. The establishment of such a basis would, of course, be greatly hastened by a general inclination of popular taste toward some one broad and plastic form of art. And I think the Fair, by bringing Renaissance art into popular favor, will thus do the country a very valuable service.

Moreover, when the Fair buildings are seen in a complete condition, the public will feel the importance of the landscape-architect, not only as an anticipatory planner but as a finishing decorator, and will realize that in completing a great architectural creation he and the architect and the sculptor must work hand in hand. The beauty of the site and the main buildings will make itself fully apparent only when the quays with their stately balustrades and flights of steps, the esplanades and terraces with their stretches of turf and flower-bed, the minor buildings, kiosks, and seats, the columns, colonnades, bridges, fountains, and statues, and the lights, flags, and awnings are all in place; and then it will be so varied yet homogeneous, so splendid in total effect yet so finished in detail, that we shall hardly be able to give special credit to any one artist or kind of artist. We shall feel simply that Art has been at work as she used to work in the great old days when a common æsthetic impulse united all her ministrants, and a generous enthusiasm for the general result led each to think as much about his brother's success as about his own.

This impression was made by the Paris Exhibition of 1889, but not with the same degree of force. All the more important features

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of the Paris grounds were, indeed, carefully and consistently designed and arranged. But a certain license was granted in smaller matters to individual exhibitors, and there were many little constructions and details which did not harmonize with their environment, and plainly bore a commercial, advertising stamp. At Chicago all large structures which would be out of keeping with the desired general effect of the grounds (except those erected by foreign governments and by our individual States and Territories, which have been massed together at the northern end of the inclosure) have been relegated to a great street called the Midway Plaisance that runs westward from the boundary-line formed by the railroad tracks; within the main portion of the grounds no exhibitor or vender will be allowed to build the smallest object without official sanction of its design; and all semi-useful or wholly ornamental details will be superintended by Mr. Millet, the Chief of Decoration, from the great awnings on colonnade or bridge to the little ones on the passenger-boats, and from seats, drinking-fountains, and sign-posts to the myriad flags which will enliven the cornices of the buildings. The art of monumental decoration will be as well exemplified as the art of monumental construction.

It is well worth noting, too, that while commercialism will be kept within due bounds, no conspicuous appeal will be made to the mere sense of surprise and wonder. That taste for the new and marvellous as such which foreigners are so apt to call a distinctively American trait will not be pandered to at this American exhibition, although it seems to be thought essential that it should be pandered to in European exhibitions. We have not felt that we needed a phenomenally tall tower such as Paris built in 1889, or a phenomenally large telescope such as she proposes to build in 1900, or anything resembling that huge "Egg of Columbus," fitted up as a restaurant, which figured at the recent Columbian festival in Genoa. We have felt that the pure beauty we could create would suffice to make the Fair a marvellous sight, and that our people would be attracted by it without the help of special marvels of a useless and inartistic kind. Special marvels of a scientific sort will indeed be shown, like the roof of the Liberal Arts Building, the largest by far which has ever been constructed. But, like this, they will all exist in answer to definite practical needs; and such ornamental marvels as Mr. French's sixty-feet-high statue of the Republic were demanded by the general scale of the buildings and will be much less remarkable for size than for beauty. We have turned the tables on the Old World in this respect.

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It is now for us to say "How transatlantic!" when works of constructional art appeal first of all to the sense of amazement.

On the other hand, the Fair presents one special object-lesson of a very different kind—one demonstration of the art how not to build—which every American ought to see. This is the United States Building. By far the most serious blot on the beauty and unity of the great architectural panorama, every citizen ought to study it in order that he may understand, through its contrast with its neighbors, how rapid has been our architectural advance since the days of that Philadelphia Exhibition where it would not have looked incongruous, and thus may realize how sadly the Great Father at Washington lags behind his children. This Government building is bad because it was built by a government architect. I mean that, as our Government now practises architecture, no good architect will take employment under it; and that if one did, he would have a hundred times more work to manage than he could manage properly. It will be worth while to have this conspicuous failure stand on our Fair grounds if it teaches the people and their executives the absolute need for reform in the building methods of the National Government. I cannot now speak of the multiform lessons in special matters of architectural art which even a cursory study of the other Fair buildings will teach. They will be observed, of course, more attentively than have been any other buildings in our land; and their occasional faults, as well as their frequent and surpassing excellences, will surely bear valuable fruit in the development of popular taste.

The most admirable of them all is the Fine Arts Building; and within its walls wonderful lessons will be taught by the collections to which all the world will contribute. No one except the directors of this part of the Exhibition can yet fully realize what the richness and, to American eyes, the freshness of these collections will be. Mr. Atwood's splendid courts and galleries will be filled by no heterogeneous crowds of native and foreign works, bewildering in their mass but only moderately instructive upon examination. The choice of American pictures, for instance, will be carefully regulated—more carefully, I think, than has ever been the case in any of our largest annual or occasional exhibitions; yet the space allotted to them is very extensive, and there will be good works enough to fill it adequately. For the first time the American public will have a real chance to see what the American painter has accomplished, for his best works will be shown from the earliest days (represented in a retrospective or his-

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torical collection) down to the present moment; and the witness of the pictures hung in the Art Building will be supplemented, moreover, by the conspicuous mural decorations of this and the other buildings. From all foreign nations which practise painting representative collections will be sent, chief among them, of course, the one which will come from France, to be selected by the chief government officials and foremost artists of Paris, and to be housed by itself in one of those spacious annexes each of which contains one-fourth as much wall-space as the big Art Building itself.

But, I need hardly say, pictures will form only a part of the art collections. The whole of the immense cruciform central area of Mr. Atwood's building will be given up to works of sculpture and to casts from these and from architectural carvings. The famous Trocadéro Collection in Paris—the finest array of architectural casts in the world—is being reproduced for the first time especially for our Fair; and, especially for our Fair, the Greek Government has established a factory where all the important antiquities it owns will be duplicated, to be sent as the Greek nation's chief exhibit. I do not yet know how much, in the way of modern sculpture, will come from Paris; but I have no doubt that enough will come to make our public acquainted, for the first time, with that great living school which rivals the Renaissance schools of sculpture and surpasses, perhaps, even the modern French school of painting. These are but a few examples of the things that will stand in the sculpture gallery; and I can give no idea at all of the general effect of this vast gallery—five hundred feet in length and fifty in breadth, crossed, under the sumptuous central dome, by another arm of equal width and not greatly inferior length. It will show the most splendid array of sculptured works that the modern world has ever collected together; and, of course, its teaching, even more than that of the picture-galleries, will be supplemented by the adornments of the other buildings, and also by the monumental decorations of the grounds. If we merely walk about among the Fair buildings, without entering any of them, we shall see independent sculpture and what I may call applied sculpture on a scale and in a variety hitherto unknown to us.

Chief among the monumental decorations will be Mr. McMonnies' elaborate fountain and Mr. French's huge simple figure of the Republic, facing each other from opposite ends of the Great Basin. Both of these are triumphs of technical skill, of imposing beauty, and of fresh inspiration—more individual in character, while not less ex-

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cellent in workmanship, than anything of the same sort that was to be seen in Paris four years ago. Among the less conspicuous works of a similar kind many will be remarkably good, although, of course, there is still a doubt with regard to others, and we cannot expect so numerous a collection of monuments and portrait-statues to be universally satisfying in view of the very recent development of anything that deserves the name of an American school of sculpture.

As a whole I think its strictly architectural sculpture will be the Fair's weakest feature. Yet some of this too is admirable, and the rest will teach the much-needed lesson that architectural as well as independent sculpture demands the hand of a skilful artist. Artisans' work, or the work of unskilful artists, which we should pass without a protesting glance in our streets, will here seem so distressing that a new standard will be set up in the public's mind, to react eventually upon the aspect of our streets themselves.

If I can thus merely hint at the Fair's richness in works of architecture, sculpture, and painting, I cannot do even as much with regard to its promised treasures in the way of those minor works of art which, of course, will convey lessons of priceless value to artists and artisans in many branches. Some of them will be housed in the Art Building, others in the building for Manufactures and Liberal Arts, and others again in the structures erected by foreign governments and in those along that Midway Plaisance where the characteristic abodes of almost all the world will be reproduced and its manifold industries practically illustrated.

I do not record all this chiefly for the benefit of those who are already interested in matters of art. They will profit much, but there are others who will profit even more, by visiting the Fair. Incomparably attractive and useful as explaining what is meant by beauty, it will be still more beneficial as proving how highly beauty ought to be esteemed. This is the great lesson which our public at large still needs to be taught; and no other experience could teach it as will a sight of Jackson Park next summer. Even if it were as easy to travel through Europe as to go to Chicago, European travel, however prolonged and extensive, would not make upon the average American the same distinct and deep impression, fertile in promises of future personal and national development. The average American travels in Europe to enjoy himself, not to instruct himself in matters of aim and conduct; to cultivate his mind, perhaps, but not to enlarge the

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bounds of what I may call his intellectual conscience; to learn what has been done in other lands, but not to discover what ought to be done in ours. He and his country, he thinks, are laws unto themselves. That a thing once was done elsewhere is small reason why it should again be done here. That certain ideas and aspirations prevail in France is no proof that they ought to prevail in America. As a nation, he believes, we must think for ourselves, act as we see best, aspire in ways of our own—work out our intellectual as we have worked out our political problems. When as a nation we find that art is essential we shall make strenuous efforts to cultivate it; but the fact must be proved on our own soil and in ways which seem accordant with the general temper and trend of American existence. A hundred years ago we would not have a king, although all the outer world declared we should and must; and to-day we will not give ourselves to art, though all the world maintains we ought, unless, under American hands, art can prove its own desirability, its own necessity.

Could anything prove this so instantly, so impressively, as a sight of our vast, beautiful, and very costly Fair—our city of palaces of art which has been built to typify and explain America's prosperity and promise, and has been built by men who are as wide-awake, practical, and modern-minded as they are cultivated and generous? Could any men testify, in the ears of the average American, with regard to the relative value of any mundane thing so convincingly as these "representative business men" of the "representative city" of the West? The men who have organized this Fair, determined its aspect, and spent many millions upon it for the sake of pure beauty are themselves average, typical Americans—embodiments of common sense, active, shrewd, practical, and very successful according to the most strictly utilitarian standards. They are men who know better than any other kind of men what life means and might mean to the average American; and they will be believed in this their showing of what American conditions permit, need, and ought to include. They have said, in a voice which has already gone around the world: "The most desirable of all mundane things is beauty; the thing most precious to a nation is art; what we must show our fellow-countrymen is not a simply practical or a cheaply showy exhibition, but the most truly and magnificently artistic one that can possibly be created; and it does not matter what it costs." They have said: "For this we are willing to spend ourselves and our money—not merely for the safe and comfortable housing of practically serviceable things, the display of

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man's ingenuity, the exhibition of scientific progress, the exaltation of money-making, the tickling of uncritical eyes; but first of all and above all else for the glorification of true art, for the explanation of the highest kinds of beauty, for the preaching of the gospel of that noble pleasure of the eye through which the mind is cultivated, the heart purified, and the life of a nation enlightened and sweetened."

Not a man or woman will go to Chicago next summer—not a farmer, artisan, or mechanic, shop-keeper or factory-girl, practical inventor, scientific student, or millionaire Philistine—without recognizing that the Fair has been based and built upon these ideas. And to each it will carry a conviction with regard to the worth of such ideas far stronger than could be carried by the voice of every cathedral and picture, palace and statue and garden that the Old World contains. Through the voice of the big, busy, practical, money-making city of Chicago America herself has said: *Lo, it is not Mammon you should worship, but the light-bringing, health-giving gods of intelligence, refinement, and beauty.* And all America's children will listen, believe, learn, and practise as they would in obedience to no voice save her own. When as a nation we are convinced that art is indeed a thing of first importance and priceless value, then American art, which has done so marvellously well under hampering conditions, will have an unhampered path before it and will lead us whither, to-day, no man dare predict. As a nation we shall be thus convinced, I am sure, if individually we determine that nothing except the sternest necessity shall keep us from visiting the Columbian Fair. And when art eventually profits, the whole nation of course will profit with it, and in ways practical and material as well as intellectual, spiritual, and moral. The ephemeral character of the Fair, I may add, will simply increase the impressiveness of its testimony. If it has been worth while to spend so much labor and money for beauty which will last during six months only, what ought we not to be willing to expend for beauty which will endure through the lifetime of many generations?

But even this is not the whole and, perhaps, not the very best of the matter. While the Fair will cultivate the nation it will stimulate personal virtue by the force of striking examples of admirable personal conduct, and will give us fresh trust and confidence in the American people and its institutions. The unselfish, public-spirited devotion of the organizers and artists of the Fair—their willingness to sink individual claims upon public notice for the sake of producing a

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magnificently harmonious general result—will point the moral that to succeed in a great enterprise the best way is not to think chiefly of one's self. And a lesson in true patriotism as well as in right personal behavior will be writ very large upon the splendid panorama. The longer we look at it the more impressed we shall be by the fact that we have done it—we ourselves, the American people, without foreign help or counsel; and thus we shall learn not only to appreciate American artists and firmly and fruitfully to believe in American art, but to think with new faith and reverence of the institutions which have developed the American citizen of to-day. We ought never again to be tempted to commit the unpardonable sin—to "despair of the Republic"—having seen that the Republic is capable of supremely successful effort in intellectual as well as in political paths. And the lesson impressed upon ourselves will be impressed upon foreigners also, to the future profit of the freedom of the nations.

Foreigners as well as we will understand that the American People has done this work, of and by and for itself; and they will see that it is the best work of its kind which has ever been done. "This is less an exhibition of things than an exhibition of ideas," said President Carnot when he opened the Paris Fair in 1889. The same words will be true of our Fair, while the chief idea it will express will be even more significant than the chief one expressed in France. There it was shown, in the face of royalist Europe, that a republican government could succeed intellectually as well as politically. Here it will be shown that a republican people can thus succeed in an even higher degree than a republican government.

If among my readers there is any American who despairs or even doubts of our Republic as fertile soil for intellectual and spiritual progress, let him go to Chicago next summer and come back with a new heart in his bosom. And if there is any who thinks he could not be more full of hope and faith than he is to-day, let him also go for the sanctioning and exalting of his present confidence. Above all, it is the children who should be taken—that young generation upon which the future of the Republic rests, and the sons of which, if it develops as we have a right to expect, will, I firmly believe, head the world's advance in those intellectual paths where progress in art should run parallel with progress in general knowledge, in science, in literature, in the betterment of social conditions, and in morality. A lesson like the one Chicago will teach, received in im-

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pressionable years, will be the best gift that any American parent can bestow upon a daughter or a son. A trip to Chicago will be a pleasure-trip truly. But it will also be a voyage of discovery, opening routes which will lead the nation to the fountains of intellectual power, to those green meadows and pleasant waters which encompass lives open to the enlightening, sanctifying inspirations of beauty and the attractions of unselfish intellectual endeavor. And it will likewise be a journey fruitful in the influences which go to make good citizens, true patriots, wise and public-spirited Americans.

As a pleasuring-place Jackson Park next summer will have attractions never before approached in our land; but as a place for self-instruction, self-cultivation, it will surpass any other spot in the world. He who enjoys it in the right spirit (and I think this spirit will be forced upon almost every one by the aspect and atmosphere of the place) will enjoy it as the Greeks enjoyed their dramas, not as modern men usually enjoy theirs. It will be a national play-ground on an enormous scale; but in its aspect and its influence as the amphitheatres of Greece deserved this name, not as the ball-fields and race-courses of our time deserve it.

And yet this is the place which those self-styled Christians who do not believe Christ's distinct assertion that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath, desire to have closed on the one day of the week when our mind-hungry, beauty-starved, ignorant but eagerly ambitious masses could best make use of its civilizing and uplifting ministrations.

M. G. Van Rensselaer.

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WHY THE FAIR MUST BE OPEN ON SUNDAY.

THERE are those who think that the question of opening the Columbian Exposition on Sunday has been closed by the action of the managers in accepting the Congressional appropriation, which was coupled with the requirement that it should be closed on Sunday. There are others of a different opinion. Among these are the people of Chicago generally and, if we are not very much mistaken, the managers of the Exposition. They expect Congress to reconsider and rescind its action.

It is true that the majority in both houses was an overwhelming one in favor of the bill as passed. The vote stood one hundred and forty-seven to sixty-one in the House of Representatives and fifty-two to fourteen in the Senate. But these majorities did not, we all know, represent any such feeling or conviction as the feeling of the delegates at the Convention of the Societies of Christian Endeavor. Individually the senators and representatives voting for the Sunday restriction would probably object as little as the others to spending a part or the whole of the seventh day at any exposition or exhibition which attracted them. Their vote was a concession to a sentiment which they conceived might possibly have a bearing on the election, and on the Congressional election in particular. As in pension legislation neither party is able to rise to the high level of Governor Flower's courageous and profane indifference to the votes, so was it here. The chance of sound, judicious legislation is always better after an election than before. For Congress to reverse its action at the coming session might be esteemed a breach of faith by some concerned. But it may well be doubted whether the question had any such effect on the election as was imagined in advance by the Congressional majority; and the wrong it would undo by rescinding its action is incomparably greater than any which it might possibly do.

But if the question has been or is to be reopened, it ought to be much more carefully considered than it has been heretofore. Those who most desire the open Sunday should welcome everything that can honestly be brought against it, not only from the religious but

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also from the social-economic side. A few months' satisfaction would be dearly purchased at the cost of permanent or protracted harm either to the religious uses of the day or to its opportunity for rest from ordinary work and care. At the same time we should make sure that the objections to the open Sunday are valid objections. To attempt to show that those objections which come from the great body of earnest people who for convenience and with no thought of disrespect we may call Sabbatarians are not valid may seem to many a superfluous slaying of the slain; but such a vote as that cast by the Societies of Christian Endeavor, in their Convention reputed to be 30,000 strong, makes evident that it is not. These should have been and were undoubtedly fairly representative of the best intelligence of the evangelical bodies of believers. Many of them, it may be presumed, voted as they did for no scriptural or traditional reasons, but because, honestly believing that Sunday was its own best justification both as a day of worship and as a day of rest, they believed that the opening of the Chicago Fair on Sunday would inflict upon the day, both in its higher and its lower use, a serious and perhaps permanent injury. But it is hardly to be questioned that for the most part the Christian Endeavor vote was strictly Sabbatarian, and in being so represented the average evangelical objection to the Sunday Fair. By "strictly Sabbatarian" we mean strictly confined to the idea that the religious observance of Sunday, and especially its cessation from all labor, has its root and ground in the Old Testament command to remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy. For this idea to be so generally prevalent, and in the Christian Endeavor Societies so strong and resolute, suggests that there has been slight endeavor to appreciate the intrinsic worth of Sunday and to that end to learn its history, or that the hungry sheep have looked up and not been fed by those who should have given them the simple truth.

For it is not strange that so many of the laity are utterly astray in this regard when their most trusted teachers still persist in promulgating an opinion that has no critical justification whatsoever. Thus, for example, we have Dr. Patton, the President of Princeton College, credited with the remark, "If the nation and Fair should yield obedience to the fourth commandment it would be in a fair way to the other nine." But obedience to the fourth commandment would make Sunday a working day and Saturday a day of absolute cessation from all labor while still a day of social merriment. Besides, the fourth commandment has in the Old Testament many explanatory clauses—

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nearly four-score—every one of which is equally binding with the fourth commandment on those who identify the Christian Sunday with the Jewish Sabbath. But what Christian thinks of regulating his conduct on his sacred day by these commands: brings no water or wood, cooks no victuals, works no domestic animal, and so on through the catalogue of prohibitions, nor allows any one in his employ to do any of these things? Years ago when the question of Sunday travel was being agitated in Philadelphia, a preacher of that city fulminated from his pulpit against the proposed street-cars on Sunday, and while he devolved his stately periods his coachman was shivering on his box at the church-door and his servants were at home engaged in anxious preparation of the usual Sunday feast. Yet here was but a sample of the average consistency of the modern Sabbatarian.

The former President of Princeton is as confident as Dr. Patton in his identification of our Christian Sunday with the Jewish Sabbath. The keeping of the Sabbath is not, he says, enjoined by our moral natures, but positively by God, who "instituted it at the creation of the world as a day of rest to commemorate His resting from the work of His creation." The lack of intellectual seriousness in this kind of talk is sufficiently deplorable, but what must the candid student think of the further statement by which Dr. McCosh identifies the Jewish Sabbath with the Christian Sunday, thus: "After the resurrection of our Lord, the first day of the week instead of the seventh was kept as the Sabbath, in commemoration of His resurrection from the dead"? We have heard much of legal fictions, but here is a religious fiction which the most daring legal fiction never has surpassed. And it is a religious fiction that is fundamental to the Sabbatarian conception of the Christian's sacred day. That the Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Sunday are two different institutions is sufficiently established by the fact that for a long time after the death of Jesus the Christians observed both days, and had no more idea of confounding them than we have of confounding Christmas and the Fourth of July. This state of things lasted more than two centuries—till Jewish Christianity died out. Nor, while the Sabbath was still observed by the early Christians, had it with those who followed Paul and rescued Christianity from the status of a mere Jewish sect any such inviolable sanctity as is claimed for it by the modern Sabbatarian. Jesus had set a good example in His Sabbath walk amid the bearded corn, and had declared a good principle when He said, "The Sabbath was made

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for man, and not man for the Sabbath." Paul said: "One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." He said also: "Ye observe days and months and times and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labor in vain." And again: "Let no man therefore judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of a holyday, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days." But though all this was very offensive to the Judaizing Christians, they never thought of trying to confound the Jewish Sabbath with "the Lord's Day," as what we now call Sunday was called in the early Church. The former was observed on Saturday; and the next morning the Christians had some simple meeting and then proceeded to the various cares and pleasures of the day, as upon any other.

So long as the Lord's Day and the Sabbath were both celebrated there was little danger of confounding them. But when with the decline of Jewish Christianity the Sabbath was entirely given up, the disposition to find a prototype for all Christian institutions among those of the Jews begot a tendency to speak of the Lord's Day as a continuation of the Sabbath. We find Athanasius in the fourth century saying, "The Lord changed the Sabbath into Sunday" —"changed" it, not "carried it over"—and even for this he had not a syllable of warrant in the New Testament. As soon as the Lord's Day took a distinct form of its own it had the form of joy. On other days the Christian must kneel in prayer; on this day he "stood up on joyful feet." The early Christians had many fasts; never one on Sunday. "Every lover of Christ feasts on the Lord's day," said St. Ignatius. "We deem it wicked," said Tertullian, a third-century Puritan, "to fast on the Lord's day." Labor was not at first forbidden more than joy. But gradually, as Sunday came to be the principal day for religious meetings, less work was done, not because "doing" was esteemed "a deadly thing," but because it was a hindrance to the universal joy. When the Roman Empire became formally Christian Sunday was made one of its feast days, and in 321 A.D. labor in towns was prohibited by law, but agricultural labor not till 538. But the day continued one of joy and pleasantness until the Puritans in England got the upper hand. The first Protestants were not Sabbatarians in the modern sense. When John Knox went to Geneva he found John Calvin playing bowls on Sunday afternoon, and probably he took a hand and made good his name by knocking down the pins as if they were so many queens or bishops of Scotland.

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From this course of history several things are clearly evident—first, that the construction of Sunday as a day on which all play as well as all work is wrong is not truly a Sabbatarian construction, seeing that the Jewish Sabbath was not merely a holy-day but also a holiday, a day of rest and social jollity; secondly, that Sunday is no historical continuance of the Sabbath, seeing that the two ran parallel for centuries, each with a character of its own; thirdly, that for thirteen centuries after Sunday ceased to be a working-day it remained a holiday throughout Christendom, a day of sports and pastimes. Then came the Puritan reaction. It came as a reaction from the excessive rudeness and coarseness of the sports which were directly fostered by English Catholics and half-way reformers like Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth. Thackeray says, "An Englishman is not necessarily a brute, but an English brute is the worst sort of a brute." He should have known; and he could have had no better proof of such a railing accusation than was furnished by those Sunday sports which roused the indignation of the Puritans. It is not strange that when they came into control they instituted that form of Sunday observance which has since been the ideal of evangelical Protestantism, less and less fully realized with each revolving year.

Thus it would appear that those who hold to the idea that Sunday is a day on which labor and play are both forbidden by divine command, and that hence the Chicago Exposition must be closed on Sundays, have neither Scripture nor antiquity upon their side. Their Sunday is a modern innovation, less than three centuries old. But it may not be any worse for that. "If we are to be guided by antiquity," said Hobbes, "the present age is the most ancient." By this rule the age of the Puritans was more ancient than any age before it, older in experience, inheriting the wisdom of the past. Moreover, they were men made of such intellectual and moral stuff that their opinions cannot be weighed too carefully. But a theory which is the result of a reaction is not apt to be entirely sound. There is certainly nothing in it, or in the circumstances of its adoption, or in the history of its operation, that obliges us to accept it in its entirety. We are simply thrown back on our own reason and conscience to determine what the use of Sunday henceforth ought to be. It is certain that we need it as a day of rest. Better hermetically seal the Exposition every seventh day than do anything to prejudice the weekly rest. It is certain that we need it as a day of religious thought and worship. Better a Sunday Fair as unpeopled as the moon, as silent as the grave,

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than a less religious people than we have now. And the fact ought not to be in the least degree slighted or disguised that there are those who fully appreciate that no Jewish Sabbath-rules have anything to do with Sunday, and that the historical argument is no stronger than the scriptural for a Sunday without play as well as work, who yet contend that because Sunday is its own best justification as a day for rest and for religion and for a respite from the rapacious money-getting of the week, we cannot afford to have the open Sunday at the Exposition. What shall we say in answer to these folk?

First, that though we cannot prove in advance that the open Sunday would not prejudice the people's Sunday rest thereafter, it is most unlikely that it would. The tendency is much stronger to multiply holidays than to decrease their number. In France during the last Exposition, those most in favor of the privileges of laboring men and the multiplication of their hours of rest were also most in favor of the open Sunday, and its appreciation by the laboring classes was most satisfactory. As for the respite from money-getting, it would be a good thing if we could have it. But if the Fair is closed on Sundays, what assurance have we that any less money will change hands, or that what is got for it will be better than the instruction and the entertainment of the Fair? We have none. We have, on the contrary, good reason to believe that it would go for meaner things. There is rum as well as piety in the demand for the closed Sunday, and the pious people ought not to blink the fact. It is certainly significant that a petition circulated in Chicago for the open Sunday contained, with thousands of names of reputable citizens, the name of only one saloon-keeper. And it was not because those of his set were not asked to sign. They were asked and they answered contemptuously, sometimes with brutal insolence.

Then would the open Sunday affect injuriously the religious uses of the day? Do not those who think so too confidently assume that all those who are shut out from the Fair will go to church? But Falstaff was not entirely singular in his unwillingness to do a thing under compulsion. And it is not as if, without the open Fair, there would not be the Sunday papers, any one of them with reading enough for the whole day if not for a whole week, the splendid boulevards for driving, the national game, and a hundred other things, some of which are best unnamed. Let the great Exposition be in full blast, every engine throbbing, every money-changer on the alert, and it may well be doubted whether the successive Sundays would not be used

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more religiously and trail behind them a more religious spirit than the closed Fair with all it would imply. For a great Exposition is a splendid object-lesson in the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. It shows us that "behind the mountains there are people," and that they are doing different things from ours but often quite as good. It rebukes our national conceit, our thanking God that we are not as other men are. Its natural products are a marvellous teaching of the immeasurable bounty of the world, the immeasurable providence of God.

But to open the Fair on Sundays would undoubtedly have a tendency to increase the amount of Sunday recreation in the community after it had run its course. But here would be no matter for regret. Here would be only a just return for the impressive argument which is furnished to the Sunday Fair by the success which has attended the opening of various libraries and museums and botanical gardens and art-galleries in this country and in Europe. No; it would also be a laudable return upon the tradition of the Jewish Sabbath and the tradition of the Christian Sunday before the Puritan reaction—the tradition of joy and gladness as well as happy rest and pious contemplation.

Better the Puritan Sunday than the Sunday it rebuked and thrust aside, which for all its bull-baiting and cock-fighting was hardly, if any, worse than the foul-mouthed loafing of to-day—foul-mouthed in every sense. But there is something possible which is better than either the Puritan Sunday or that which merited the Puritan's indignant scorn. It is a Sunday which, without abatement of religious service or of needful rest, should be a day of sweet and quiet recreation, such as we see it in our public parks and such as it is approximately where there are galleries and museums freely opened and good enough to attract the curious multitude. If by opening the Chicago Fair on Sunday, either wholly or in part, it might bequeath to us an habitual Sunday of wholesome recreation mingled with abundant rest and ample service of religion, it would need no other justification for all that it has cost. Dean Stanley may have exaggerated, but probably he did not, when he wrote, "The observance of Sunday, more than any other single religious question, touches the heart and conscience of the whole community." But the connection in which he wrote this gives it the deepest interest. It was in connection with a plea for the "better observance of Sunday" by means of opening libraries and museums and gardens and galleries on that day. The

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whole passage is so good that I cannot better serve the cause he has at heart than by quoting it entire:

"In our great cities must we not feel that there are vast numbers of the humbler classes to whom that day furnishes the only, or nearly the only, opportunity for those innocent and, at the same time, elevating recreations and studies which we of the higher class enjoy, not only on the Sunday but every day of the week? The breathing of the fresh air, the sight of flowers in the fields, the gazing on noble works of art, the insight into God's works as revealed by Science or by Nature—all these blessings, which those who have means and leisure so highly value, are the very gifts which, if they can be bestowed on our humbler brethren without interference with the sacred and solemn character of the day, and without entrenching on the hours of repose so dear to every workingman, we should most desire to place within their reach. Such enlargement of the opportunities of Sunday is advocated both in the direct interests of religion and in the interests of morality, which is, after all, only religion under another name; in the direct interests of religion, because it is important that the greatest religious institution of the country shall not suffer in the estimation of the young or the uneducated; in the estimation, I will add, of the hostile or the indifferent, by being associated with enforced gloom or listless idleness."

When this was written the prophecies of what would follow the opening of picture-galleries and museums and like places on Sunday were more doleful than those at the present time of what will follow the Sunday opening of the Chicago Exposition. But none of them has been fulfilled. Some years ago a score of public places such as the Kew Gardens and the picture-galleries of Hampton Court with many libraries throughout the kingdom were thrown open, and with the happiest results. The attendance has been larger than on week-days, and in the smaller boroughs larger than on all the other days of the week—at Manchester library 289,000 persons in a year. The decorum and enjoyment have been as conspicuous as the attendance. No churches in Europe are more impressive in their Sunday quietness than the galleries of Paris and Berlin and Dresden and Florence. The People's Palace in East London gathers thousands every Sunday into its cheerful space. No one who has seen our own open galleries and libraries on Sunday would wish to turn adrift the people who frequent them to more trivial things. The directors of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in their last report, though they had lost a large bequest and reduced their membership by opening their doors on Sunday, had no desire to take a backward step.

But to compare any of these things with the Chicago Exposition is almost ridiculous. If such places should be open on Sunday, how much more should the Chicago Exposition! For those the poor have

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always with them, and whenever they will they can do themselves good by going to them, if they can spare the money. But the Chicago Exposition is to continue for only a few months. With the exception of a few holidays, the Sundays are the only days on which the poorer people of Chicago and the surrounding country can visit the Fair. Moreover, its appeal to the imagination of the visitor and the satisfaction he will derive from it, especially the less cultivated man, in its splendid aggregate of natural, industrial, and artistic products, must be vastly greater than any ordinary museum or gallery or library or garden could afford in the same length of time. But the success attending the opening of such places and the absence of distressing incidents and results are certainly important reasons for the Sunday opening of the Fair, which will as certainly react on them and make quiet recreation more and more the habit of the day.

Those who oppose the Sunday opening appear to think that their own favorite use of Sunday is going to be infringed. But no: they can go to church, if they desire to do so, morning, noon, and night. They are free to go their way; why should not others be as free as they? The majority of our whole population would not, we imagine, vote to close the Exposition one day in the week. The Roman Catholics would not; the Episcopalians would not; the various liberal sects would not, nor the Jews, nor the German Lutherans, nor the great multitude of the unchurched; and all these together make up an immense body, if not the majority of our population. Whether the Fair should be open all day on Sunday, and whether on that day it should be a "silent Fair," are questions that can wait until it is decided whether we shall have any Sunday Fair at all. Two things in this connection are, however, sure: first, that "the silent Fair" would debar the working classes—a bad term, as if we did not all belong to them—from that part of the Fair in which they would have the most interest and from which they would derive the most advantage; secondly, that for a half loaf the poor man ought not to be obliged to pay as much as his rich neighbor pays for a whole loaf. The "silent Fair" should mean half-rate admissions, consequently more money for the Fair; but that is a comparatively unimportant matter.

It has been urged that in bribing the managers of the Fair to close its doors on Sunday with its big appropriation, Congress exceeded its constitutional rights; for is it not written: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof"? The letter of this provision may not be infringed

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by the condition which Congress has imposed upon its appropriation, but the spirit of it is infringed most certainly. A more palpable piece of religious legislation could not be, nor a more palpable concession to one part of the religious community at the expense of another. Open the Fair on Sundays and the Puritan party is deprived of nothing that it wants, except the privilege of shaping the religious conduct of other people. But the liberal party—or those it represents—is deprived by the Sunday closing of something that it needs for the widening of its education and the deepening of its religious life. For we cannot have a better understanding of the world without knowing more of God and loving Him with a more wise and trustful love.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

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WRITERS FOR THE DECEMBER FORUM.

PRESIDENT CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT (*Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*), born in Boston, Mass., in 1834, was graduated at Harvard College in 1853, and after serving as tutor became professor of chemistry there. In 1865 he accepted the chair of chemistry in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and in 1869 he was chosen president of Harvard. He is a frequent public speaker and an occasional contributor to the magazines.

DR. J. M. RICE (*The Public Schools of St. Louis and Indianapolis*), born in Philadelphia in 1857, was graduated from the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1881. He took a course in psychology and pedagogy at the universities of Jena and Leipzig, after which he visited the schools of various European countries. Dr. Rice, in the service of the FORUM, has this year visited the public schools in thirty-six cities, spending every school-hour in school-rooms, making the investigations upon which he has based these articles.

EX-SENATOR GEORGE FRANKLIN EDMUNDS (*Politics as a Career*), born in Rutland, Vt., in 1828, began to practise law in 1849. In 1851 he moved to Burlington. He was a member of the State Legislature from 1854 to 1859, for three of these years acting as Speaker. In 1861–62 he was President *pro tempore* of the State Senate. In 1866 he was appointed to the United States Senate, where he served for successive terms until his resignation last year, and was during the administration of President Arthur President *pro tempore*. He was a member of the Electoral Commission in 1876 and is the originator of the "Edmunds Act" for the suppression of polygamy in Utah, presented to Congress in 1882, and of a similar act passed in 1887.

MRS. MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT (*Women in English Politics*) is the wife of Henry Fawcett, the English economist. She is one of the leaders in the Women's Suffrage movement in England, and has besides done much for the education of women. She has published a "Political Economy for Beginners," "Tales in Political Economy," and, with her husband, "Essays and Lectures on Social and Political Subjects."

JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY (*Dialect in Literature*), born in Greenfield, Ind., in 1852. For many years he has been a member of the staff of the Indianapolis "Journal." He began in 1875 to publish verses in Western dialect, and he is the best contemporaneous writer of dialect verse. He is a frequent contributor to newspapers and magazines and he has published several volumes of poems, stories, and sketches.

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PROF. FRANCIS G. PEABODY (*How Should a City Care for Its Poor?*), born in 1847, on graduating from Harvard College in 1869 studied for the Unitarian ministry. After his ordination he preached for a few years in Cambridge, Mass., and then became an instructor at Harvard, where he is now professor of social science. He has also been for several years a preacher to the University. He has devoted himself chiefly to the study of questions of social reform.

JACOB A. RIIS (*Special Needs of the Poor in New York*), born in Denmark, 1849, was educated in the old Latin School of Ribe, in Denmark, where his father was a master. He came to this country in 1869, worked for several years at whatever came to hand, and eventually became a reporter for a news agency. In 1878 he was sent as a member of the staff of the New York "Tribune" to Police Headquarters, where he has been ever since, for the past few years collecting police news for the "Evening Sun." His work gave him material for his magazine articles on the poor in New York which formed the bases of his two books, "How the Other Half Lives" and "The Children of the Poor," the last named just published. During the past few years he has lectured frequently on the subject of poverty.

WILLIAM HURRELL MALLOCK (*Are Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray Obsolete?*), born in Devonshire in 1849, was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, where in 1871 he wrote the Newdigate prize poem. He is a frequent contributor to the English reviews, chiefly on philosophical topics. His best-known books are: "The New Paul and Virginia;" "Is Life Worth Living?" and "A Romance of the Nineteenth Century." He has published not a few studies in literature, philosophy, and economics.

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS (*Brandy and Socialism: the Gothenburg Plan*) was formerly a lecturer on economics at Harvard College. For the past five years he has been studying social and economic questions in Europe. He is a contributor on these subjects to leading publications in this country and in England.

MRS. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER was born in New York City, where she now lives. She has devoted herself to the study of art and architecture. She is the author of "Six Portraits," a collection of essays on artists and their works, "American Etchers," a life of Richardson the architect, and she is a frequent and versatile contributor to the magazines.

REV. JOHN WHITE CHADWICK (*Why the Fair Must be Open on Sunday*) was born in Marblehead, Mass., in 1840. He was graduated at the Harvard Divinity School in 1864, and during the same year was called to the pastorate of the Second Unitarian Society in Brooklyn. His sermons have attracted wide attention. Mr. Chadwick was elected Phi Beta Kappa poet at Harvard in 1885, and in the following year preached the *alumni* sermon at the Harvard Divinity School. He has published many of his discourses, which for some time were issued serially, and he is a frequent contributor to the Unitarian journals Among his publications in book form are: "A Book of Poems," "The Bible of To-Day," "The Faith of Reason," "Some Aspects of Religion," "The Man Jesus," "Belief and Life," "Origin and Destiny," and an obituary sketch of George William Curtis.

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